

Some Notes on the Literature and Doctrines of the Ḥurūfī Sect

Author(s): Edward G. Browne

Source: *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, e Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (Jan., 1898), pp. 61-94

Published by: Cambridge University Press

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25207935>

Accessed: 17-09-2016 19:34 UTC

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at

<http://about.jstor.org/terms>



Cambridge University Press, Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*

ART. IX.—*Some Notes on the Literature and Doctrines of the Hurûfi Sect.* By EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.

I. THE LITERATURE.

IN my Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library (pp. 69–86) I described, at what may have seemed rather inordinate length, a work called the *Jâridân-i-Kâbir*, which aroused my interest in the highest degree. The interest of this work, as I there pointed out, is twofold: it embodies very remarkable doctrines, apparently akin to those of the Isma'ilis or Shi'ites of the "Sect of the Seven"; and considerable portions of it are written in a peculiar dialect of Persian which certainly merits a fuller study. Concerning the author of this work, Fazlu'llâh b. Abî Muhammâd of Tabriz, called "al-Hurûfi," we know little (except what may be gleaned from his writings) beyond what is contained in the brief notice of Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalâni (d. A.H. 852), cited by Flügel at pp. vii–viii of the preface to the second volume of his edition of Hâjî Khalfa. "Fazlu'llâh," says Ibn Hajar, "the son of Abû Muhammâd of Tabriz, was one of those innovators who subject themselves to ascetic discipline. Imbued with heretical doctrine, he finally produced the sect known as the *Hurûfis* [from حروف, 'Letters'], pretending that the Letters [of the alphabet] were metamorphoses of men, together with many other idle and baseless fancies. He invited the Amîr Timûr the Lame [Tamerlane] to adopt his heresies, but he desired to slay him. And this came to the knowledge of his son (with whom he had sought refuge), and he struck off his head with his own hand. And when this was made known to Timûr, he demanded

his head and his body, and burned them both, in this year, viz. in the year [A.H.] 804" (=A.D. 1401-2). From the *Jâridâ-i-Kâbir* it seems clear enough that Fazlu'llâh pretended that himself was a prophet and his book an inspired revelation; and from sundry records of visions with which the Cambridge MS. concludes (I have not had an opportunity of comparing the Leyden or the Constantinople codices), it would further appear that the period of his religious activity began not later than A.H. 786 (=A.D. 1384).

Some time after the publication of my *Catalogue*, my friend Mr. E. J. W. Gibb called my attention to the fact that the Turkish poet *Nesîmî* (who was put to death for heterodoxy in A.H. 820) is, in several *tâzkirâs* of Turkish poets, called *al-Hurûfi*, a term of which he had not understood the precise significance until he read my notice of the *Jâridâ-i-Kâbir*. He showed me several of the notices consecrated to *Nesîmî* in these *tâzkirâs*; and the allusion to Fazlu'llâh contained in the following verse of his cited by one of them afforded yet more conclusive evidence that the "heresy" for which the Turkish poet suffered death was the heresy of "Fazlu'llâh the *Hurûfi*":—

علم حکمتندن بلورست گل برو گل ای حکیم '
سن نسیمی منطقنندن دگله فصل اللہی گور '

"If thou would'st know of the science of philosophy [or of the lore of wisdom], come, come hither, O philosopher;
Hearken thou to the speech of *Nesîmî*, and behold Fazlu'llâh !
[or the Excellence of God]."

Already, therefore, it began to appear probable that this *Hurûfi* sect enjoyed a certain importance, duration, and diffusion; and this conjecture derived further support from my discovery in the Bibliothèque Nationale, during a fortnight spent at Paris in the Easter vacation of 1897, of two manuscripts (*Ancien Fonds Persan*, 24, and *Suppl. Pers.*, 107) containing several other *Hurûfi* treatises. These manuscripts, before going further, I will briefly describe.

Ancien Fonds Pers., 24.

This MS., a volume of eighty-six leaves, is divided into three parts as follows:—

- (I) The *Istiwā-nāma* (ff. 1^b–59^b) of *Amir Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥuseyn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥuseynī of Astarābād*,¹ of which another copy, dated A.H. 1043, is briefly described by Dr. Paul Horn, of Strassburg, amongst the Persian and Turkish MSS. of the Vatican (Z.D.M.G., vol. li, p. 12). This copy ends (f. 59^b)—

تَمَّتُ الْكِتَابُ بِعَوْنَ فَضْلِ قَاتِحِ الْبَابِ سَيِّدٌ

“The book was concluded by the help of *Fazl[u'llāh]* the Opener of the Gate, A.H. 970” (=A.D. 1562–3). This, of course, is the date of transcription, but a passage on f. 23^a shows that the work must have been composed subsequently to A.H. 828. As regards its title, it refers, no doubt, to the verse of the Qur’ān, “then He [God] ascended upon His Throne” (ثُمَّ اسْتَوَ عَلَى عَرْشِهِ), constantly cited in the *Jāridān-i-Kabīr* and other Hurūfī books.

- (II) An allegorical Mathnavī poem (ff. 62^b–80^b), in the hexameter *ramal* metre, describing Alexander’s search for the Water of Life, and the questions addressed by him to the *Pīr-i-murshid* (presumably Khizr), with their answers. It begins—

ابْنَدَا كَرْدَمْ بَنَامْ نَوْ الْجَلَالِ ‘ حَىٰ وَقِيَومْ وَقَدِيمْ بَىْ زَوَالِ ‘

That this poem also is the work of a Hurūfī, is evident from the concluding lines—

هَادِي وَمَهْدِي كَلَامَ اللَّهِ شَدِ، لِيَكَ انْدَرْ نَطْقَ فَضْلِ اللَّهِ شَدِ،
گَرْ بَدَانِي عَنْدَهُ عِلْمُ الْكِتَابِ، اوْسَتْ شَاهِدَ بِرْهَمَهِ يَوْمَ الْحِسَابِ،
جمْلَهِ ازْ جَاوِيدِ نَامَهِ شَدِ عَيَانِ، آنْچَهِ پِنْهَانَ بُودَ دَرْ كُونَ وَ مَكَانِ،
روْ طَلْبَ كَنْ اَيِّ شَهِ عَالِيِّ مَقَامِ، مَقْصِدَ كَلَى اَزِينَ روْ وَ السَّلَامِ،

¹ His full name is thus given on f. 49^a. Elsewhere he is spoken of simply as *Amir Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn*.

"The Word of God is [our] Guide and Mahdī, but it is
[so] through the speech of Fuḍlu'llāh.

If thou understandest 'With Him is Knowledge of the
Book,' he is Witness against all in the Day of
Reckoning.

All which was concealed in the Phenomenal Universe
hath been made clear by the *Jārid-nāma*.

Go, seek, O King of lofty station, the Supreme Object
in this way, and so Farewell!"

(III) A glossary of the dialect-words used in the *Jāridān-nāma-i-Kabīr* (ff. 81^a–86^a). The words explained are written in red in alphabetical order, the explanations in Persian standing under each; and there are about eighty words to the page.

Suppl. Pers., 107.

This is a small volume of ff. 139, brown with age, described in a French note as "Traité de l'immortalité de l'Ame en prose persienne appellé *Djaridan namé*, avec l'explication des lettres cabalistiques inconnues qui sont dans l'Alcoran, et le commentaire des passages qui sont à ce sujet, composé par Fadhlalla Hourouti de la secte des Sofis: il traite cette matière suivant la Théologie des Sofis, et la cabale des lettres et des noms divins." Much of it is written in an extremely enigmatical manner, and traditions which enjoyed a special currency and favour amongst the sect are so much abbreviated as to be unintelligible to those who are not already familiar with them. Thus, to cite one instance, the constantly-quoted رأیت ربی appears as رأیت ربی ليلة المراج فی صورة امیر قطط فی صدر مرتضی. The book begins, after the *Bismi'llāh* :—

هودر تقسیم وَد وَبشناس و بخوان ای خواننده طوط وَه کریم
دَعَ که حت لَت فرموده است حمص و علی صَرَّالرَحْمَن از تقسیم
طَوَّکه یکی موی سراوست و چهار مژه دو ابرو و در آن حدیث
که قامَت الرَّحْمَن فا خَذَت بحقیقی الرَّحْمَن قال مه قالت هدا مقام
العائد بک الى آخرة

For the full understanding of this text a careful preliminary study of the more intelligible Hurūfī works would be indispensable. Its title appears to be, from a marginal note rendered partially unintelligible to me by contractions, *Mahabbat-nāma-i-Jārid*¹ ("The Eternal Book of Love"), and this title seems justified by the general tone of the book and by the constantly-cited tradition—

من ذكرني احتبني ومن احببني عشقني ومن عشقتني عشقتة
ومن عشقتة قتلتة ومن قتلتة انا دينه

"He who remembereth me, loveth me; and he who loveth me, passionately desireth me; and him who passionately desireth me I passionately desire; and whom I passionately desire I slay; and of him whom I slay, I am the Blood-wit." A *Mahabbat-nāma-i-Ilāhī* ("Divine Book of Love") is mentioned in the *Istiwdā-nāma*, and is, no doubt, the work contained in this MS., which is dated A.H. 895 (A.D. 1489-90), and was transcribed by a certain Darvish Ahīnād. I was unable to discover in my examination of the book any indications serving to fix more accurately the date of composition or the authorship, but the following expression occurring on f. 11^b of the *Istiwdā-nāma* (and similar ones elsewhere) would seem to show that it too was written by Fazlu'llāh:—

در محبت نامه الهی ج ۲ = ج ۱ ذکرہ حضرت الہی
میر مايند در باب یوسف و زایخا ...

Besides the *Javidān-nāma* and the *Mahabbat-nāma*, mention is made in the *Istiwdā-nāma* of another Hurūfī work, in verse, entitled the '*Arsh-nāma*' ("Book of the Throne"). Citations from this show that it is a Persian *mathnawī* poem written in the same metre (*Ramat-i-musaddas-i-mahdhūf*) as the *mathnawī*

¹ This identification is rendered certain by a passage on f. 13^b of the *Istiwdā-nāma*, where, in discussing why the *Mahabbat-nāma* received this title rather than that of *Tu'ashshuq-nāma* or *Muncaddat-nāma* (which mean the same thing), Ghīyāthu'l-Dīn explicitly cites its opening words as follows:—

در اول کتاب محبت نامه الهی حضرت الی بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم دو فرموده اند

already described as forming the second part of *Anc. Fonds Pers.* 24, and it seemed to me probable that this poem might prove to be the '*Arsh-nâma*', but, as I sought in vain to verify the citations, this identity must still be regarded as un-established.

Mention must also be made of another *Hurûfi* poem in Turkish, by *Reşî'i*, a pupil of *Nesîmî*, contained in the British Museum MS. Add. 5,986. It is called the *Bashârat-nâma*, and contains translations of passages from the '*Arsh-nâma*', *Jâridân-nâma*, and *Mahabbat-nâma* already mentioned. As I have not yet had the opportunity of examining this MS., save in the most cursory manner, I can for the present merely refer the reader to Professor Rieu's description of it in his *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, pp. 164-5.

It will thus be seen that the authentic material for a full study of this *Hurûfi* sect, of which hitherto almost nothing has been known, is very considerable. Such a study this article has no pretension to be, but only a few notes on the subject, based on such hurried examination of the documents as I have been able to effect. Some there may be who will be inclined to regret that I did not postpone it until I had extended this examination; but, having learned by experience how often the ungarnered harvest rots instead of ripening, I have thought it better to place in the hands of other students these clues to a hitherto untrodden labyrinth which at present I have not leisure further to explore. Sources whence further information might be expected are, besides the Turkish *taşkîras* of which I have already spoken (some of which I shall have occasion to cite), the various general and special histories of Timûr, where some account of the execution of Fazlu'llâh is probably to be found. It is, of course, possible that Timûr attached little importance to the death of one mystic heresiarch amidst the thousands of victims whom he slew, but the *Hurûfis* on their part were not disposed to forget "that accursed lame man" (آن لگت ملعون), as the author of the *Istîvâ-nâma* (§. 25^a) calls him.

One other source—printed this time, not manuscript—remains to be mentioned, namely, the Turkish and Persian poems (*Divān*) of Nesīmī, published at Constantinople at the *Akhtar* printing-press in Jumāda II, A.H. 1298. Although almost every page of this *Divān* contains obvious allusions to Fazlu'llāh and the Hurūfī doctrines, it would appear to be of only secondary value for an investigation of the tenets of the sect. That Nesīmī was a prominent disciple of Fazlu'llāh is abundantly proved by evidence external to his own poems, and I have now no doubt that he is the “Seyyid ‘Imād”¹ mentioned in the visions wherewith the Cambridge MS. of the *Jāvidān-i-Kabir* concludes (p. 72 of my *Persian Catalogue*). Qinālī-zādē expressly says, in the notice which he consecrates to Nesīmī in his *tazkira* (Add. 24,957 of Brit. Mus., f. 282), that, after he had been filled with Divine love, he “at length offered his devotion to Fazlu'llāh al-Hurūfī,” and, becoming bolder and bolder in his talk of Divine Mysteries as the Mystic Wine-cup which he drained proved too much for his discretion, uttered words mystically true but outwardly blasphemous, which caused the doctors of Aleppo to pronounce sentence of death against him.² The author of the *Istiwā-nāma* mentions him (f. 22^a) as one of seven “most learned, most perfect, most excellent, most eminent darvishes of that epoch” (the others being Darvish ‘Alī, Darvish Bahā’u’d-Dīn, Mawlānā Muḥammad of Nā’in, Mawlānā Ḥasan of Burūjird, Darvish Ahmad of Gilān, and

¹ Qinālī-zādē (fl. A.H. 994) speaks of him as ‘Imādu’d-Dīn, and says that he belonged to a family of Seyyids of Baghdad. Mr. Gibb, who has kindly read through the proofs of this article, says that Laṭīlī (A.H. 953) confirms the first piece of information.

² I am indebted to Mr. Gibb for the following note:—“Qinālī-zādē’s words are—

گلستان جهان و بوستان دل و جانه نسیم ندا و زان اول مغله بی عشق و محبتی مشامنہ یتوره یشدی
که خدمت مشایخ زمان ایدرک آخر نصل اللہ حروفی یہ ارادت گذرمیشدی ’

‘As the Breeze of Annihilation blew upon the Garden of his Spirit, upon the Orchard of his Heart and Soul, it bore the Perfume of Love and Affection to his Nostrils, so that after having served the Sheykhs of the Time, he at last gave his allegiance to Fazlu'llāh the Hurūfī,’ in consequence of which, continues Qinālī-zādē, he lost all self-control, and began to rave after the fashion of the ecstasies.’”

Mawlānā Ḥasan-i-Haydari), and, in an anecdote concerning him (to be cited presently) which occurs on f. 58^b, calls him

سید سعید شهید امیر سید عمام الدین نسیمی

“the beatified, martyred Seyyid, Amir Seyyid ‘Inādu’d-Dīn Nesimi.” In the *tazkira* of Laṭīfi (Add. 17,339 of Brit. Mus., f. 90^b) he is called—

عشق میدانینش سرباز بی بیمی و محبت کعبه سنت فدای
عظیمی قدوة السادات سید نسیمی قدس اللہ سرہ

“the fearless Soldier of the Field of Love, the precious Sacrifice of the Ka’ba of Affection, the Paragon of Scyyids, Seyyid Nesimi, may God sanctify his secret!” Hence it would appear that even Musulmāns presumably orthodox were disposed to regard him as a kind of second Mansūr-i-Hallāj, a part for which his own words (*Divān*, p. 52, l. 6, and many other passages) prove his predilection—

دائم انا الحق سویلرم حقدن چو منصور او لمشم
کیمدر بنی بردار ایدن بو شهره مشهور او لمشم

“Since I have been helped [*mansūr*]¹ by the Truth [God] I ever say, ‘I am the Truth!’ Who will put me on the gibbet? I have become notorious in this city.”

Had these gentle biographers enjoyed an opportunity of perusing even so much of the Ḥurūfi literature as the writer has done, it is very doubtful if they would have striven to surround with the halo of martyrdom an exponent of doctrines far more remarkable for their ingenuity than their orthodoxy. These doctrines I now propose briefly to examine, chiefly by the light of the *Istiwā-nāma*, of which I have the fullest notes, and which is the clearest and most intelligible of the Ḥurūfi books. Before proceeding to this second part of my article, however, I will summarize, for greater convenience of reference, the sources of our information on the subject.

¹ Or, “since I have become [like] Mansūr.” The equivoque cannot be preserved in English.

- I. *Hurūfī writings.* (1) The *Jāridān-nāma-i-Kabir* of *Fazlu'llāh al-Hurūfī*: MSS. of Cambridge, Leyden, and St. Sophia.
- (2) The *Isticā-nāma* of *Amir Ghiyāthu'd-Din*: MSS. of Paris and the Vatican.
- (3) The *Mahabbat-nāma* of *Fazlu'llāh*: MS. of Paris.
- (4) A *mathnawī* poem which, under the guise of Alexander's quest for the Water of Life, treats allegorically of the Hurūfī doctrines, and may be the '*Arsh-nāma* of *Fazlu'llāh* mentioned and cited in the *Isticā-nāma*: Paris MS.
- (5) The *Divān* of *Nesimi*: Constantinople edition of A.H. 1298. This volume also includes (pp. 9-14) the *Ganj-nāmē* (Turkish) of *Refī'i*.
- (6) The *Bashārat-nāma* of *Nesimi*'s pupil *Refī'i*: Brit. Mus. MS.
- II. *External Sources of Information.* Biographies of Turkish poets (s.v. *Nesimi* and perhaps *Refī'i*), e.g. *Qināli-zādē* and *Laṭīfi*.¹ Probably some of the histories of Timūr; Hājī Khalfa, s.v. *Jāridān-i-Kabir*; the *Inbā* of Ibn Hajar.

II. THE DOCTRINES.

Speaking generally, the following appear to be the most prominent features of the fanciful doctrines confusedly and unmethodically set forth in the Hurūfī books:—

- (1) There exists a hidden science, to acquire which is at once the supreme duty and the supreme happiness of man, indicating and explaining the meaning and significance of all things in heaven above and in earth beneath, and the mystical correspondences which unite them.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Gibb for the following note:—"Refī'i is not mentioned in any of the *tezkirés* I have seen. There is further a notice on Nesimi in 'Ašiq Chelobi's *tezkiré*, written about A.H. 976. Also in 'Āli's History (ال歴史), written A.H. 1007. 'Ašiq alone speaks in a disparaging tone about Nesimi."

(2) This hidden science is contained in the Qur'ān; but the key which unlocks it, was in the hands of Fuzlu'llāh, "the Master of Interpretation" (صاحب تاویل), also called "His Divine Holiness" (حضرت الہی), and, after him, passed to his Successor (حضرت خلیفہ) or Vicar¹ (قائم مقام فر رب). By them it was disclosed to the believers.

(3) Man, created in the Image of God, "in the best of forms" (فِي أَخْسَنِ شُكْرِهِ), is the Microcosm (العالَمُ الْأَصْغَرُ), the Book of God (الكتاب المبین الذي بـاـحـرـفـهـ يـظـهـرـ الـمـضـمـرـ), the Goal and Measure of all things, the Throne on which God ascended when He had finished the creation of all inferior and subordinate creatures (as it is said in the Qur'ān—ثُمَّ اسْتَوَ عَلَى عَرْشِهِ), an Object of Worship to the Angels, "save Iblis, who waxed proud and refused," saying:—

ذات پاکی را که من کردم سجود، هست فارغ از قیام و از قعود،
جسم خاکی چون شود مسجود من، سجده من هم سوی معبد من،
"That pure Essence which I worship is free from standing
or sitting:

How can an earthly body be the object of my adoration?
My adoration is towards my God."

(*Arsh-nāma* cited in *Istiṣlād-nāma*, f. 20ⁿ.)

(4) "Science is a Point which fools have made manifold" (العلم نقطة كثّرها الجاهلون). That science is the Science of the Letters, which, properly understood, explains all things. "That Point," says Amīr Nūru'llāh, called *Hazrat-i-Surūrūsh-Shuhadā* (His Holiness the Delight of the Martyrs), "is the head of man; for Beauty, Comeliness, Speech, Smell, Sight, and Hearing are all in the head; and, according to writing and script, the 32 lines of black and white [i.e. the 32 letters of the Arabic alphabet as enlarged by the Persians]

¹ Perhaps Amīr Nūru'llāh, "the Delight of the Martyrs." See p. 77, infra.

are in the face, and the manifestation of speech also, which is 32 and 28 [sounds in the Persian and Arabic languages respectively], is in the face; and the verse ‘*All things shall perish save His Face*’ also alludes to this” (*Istiṣā-nāma*, ff. 19^b-20^a). As all the letters are developed from the Point (نقطة), so are all men developed from seed (نطفة, which is, save for a slight difference in diacritical points, an anagram of نطفة). “*Which fools have made manifold*”: “inasmuch as they seek the Essence of God, and the manifestation of that Essence, and the Vision thereof, elsewhere than in the Face of Man” (*Istiṣā-nāma*, f. 20^a). So Nesīmī says (*Dirān*, p. 52):—

چون اون سکر بُل عالمه اولدی وجودم آئینه
اول صورت رحمن بنم کیم خلقه مستور او لمشم

“*Seeing that my body is the mirror for the 18,000 worlds, I am that very Form of God, so am I concealed to (i.e. not comprehended by) the multitude.*”

(5) The Ḥurūfīs, like the Bātinīs or Isma‘īlīs, whom in many respects they so closely resemble, teach that, though there is a deep meaning of infinite significance both in the Qur’ān and in the religious observances (Prayer, Fasting, Pilgrimage, etc.) which it ordains, the merely literal meaning of the former and the merely formal fulfilment of the latter are entirely devoid of importance. The method of *ta’wīl*, or allegorical interpretation, first elaborated by the Isma‘īlīs, finds an equally full and very similar application amongst the Ḥurūfīs, who, as it would appear, reject the material Resurrection, Paradise, and Hell of orthodox Islām; and incline to a belief in Transmigration, or rather, perhaps, like the Bābīs, in the “Return” (رجعت) or Re-manifestation of the same significant essences in new forms.¹ They appear to believe, however, in a state of subjective happiness or misery after death, since Ghiyāthu’d-Dīn gives in the *Istiṣā-nāma* (f. 23^a) an account of a conversation which he held

¹ Cf. pp. 77-8, infra.

during sleep with a departed co-religionist, Amīr Salāmu'llāh, and describes graphically the mansions and gardens of the Paradise wherein he visited him and other deceased co-religionists; while in another place (f. 27^a) the following couplet, ascribed to "the Master of Interpretation" (i.e. Fazlu'llāh), is said to have been cited in the course of a discussion by Amīr Nūru'llāh:—

با او بـمـانـد دـایـم در عـالـم مـعـانـی '

آن نقـش و آن صـفاتـی کـو با وـی آـشـنا شـد '

"There remain ever with him in the Ideal World that form and those attributes which had become familiar to him."

Moreover, we find in the *Istīrād-nāma*, chapters "on the consciousness of the Human Spirit after the plucking off of the Body, when and how Peace comes to the pure and great Spirit of the learned, enquiring, unitarian Gnostic who practises what he knows" (f. 212); "in explanation of Hell, and the Place of Abode of the Human Spirit" (f. 39^b); and "in explanation of Hell, and determination thereof according to the word of interpretation of the *Jāridān-nāma-i-Ilāhī*, the *Mahabbat-nāma-i-Ilāhī* and the Word of the Vicar of God (*Khalīṣatu'llāh*), and according to the explicit testimony (نص) of the Pentateuch and the Gospel."

Now the doctrine of *ta'wīl*, or allegorical interpretation, is very apt to lead to complete Antinomianism, and from several passages in the *Istīrād-nāma*, it would appear that this actually was the case amongst many of the Hurūfis. "Some of the dervishes of Rūm" (i.e. the Turkish Hurūfis), according to Ghīyāthu'd-Dīn (f. 24^a), used to argue thus:—

بـهـشـت عـبـارت اـز عـلـم اـسـت و دـوـزـخ عـبـارت اـز جـهـل اـسـت چـون
ما عـارـف بـسـی و دـوـكـلمـه و وجـود خـود و اـشـیـا شـدـیـم هـمـه اـشـیـا اـز
برـای ما بـهـشـت اـسـت نـمـاز نـیـسـت و رـوـزـه نـیـسـت و طـهـارـت نـیـسـت
و حـرـام نـیـسـت هـمـه حـلـال اـسـت کـه اـین هـمـه تـکـلـیـفـات اـسـت و در

بیشتر تکلیف نیست و غرض از بهشت این عالم است با معرفت
 علم حروف و بیان صاحب بیان چه^۱ و درویشان بغداد نیز که
 درویش امیر علی کیوان و درویش صدر ضیا و درویش حسن ناطق
 اند ایشان نیز برین اند و برین بودند^۲ و درویش حاجی عیسی
 بدليسی سلام الله علیه در آلا داغ از حضرت خلیفة الله سوال فرمود
 و مدتی با درویشان مولانا حسن حیدری و درویش محمد تیرگر
 و سید تاج الدین و سید مظفر بحث میکرد و مدعای او این بود که
 در بهشت تکلیف نیست و ما میگوئیم که در بهشتیم پس بر ما
 میباید که تکلیف نباشد و این پنج وقت نماز بر ما تکلیف است
 پس گذاردنی نباشد و مدت چند وقت درین باب مباحثه میکرد
 تا غایتی که این سخن بحضورت خلیفة الله رسید صلوات الله
 علیه جواب اورا چنین فرمودند که ترا بر علم من و یقین من افرار
 هست یا نیست حال از دو بیرون نیست آن درویش عزیز فرمودند
 که این فقیر را بعلم و یقین شما [اقرار] هست [پس از] این فرمودند
 که اگر مرا دانا میدانی من میگویم که میباید گزارد (f. 24^b) و در
 «حبّت نامه» النهی چه حضرت صاحب بیان چه میفرمایند که
 نهایت خدا پرستی حکما و علماء و زاهدان و مشقیان سر بعال م عشق
 و خواهد نهادن و عاشقی عبارت از آنست که از برای هر خط وجه
 و ابرو و مژه و غمز^۳ محبوب سجود تسلیم بجا آورد و در جست بقول
 نص کلام اذا قیل لهم سلاماً سلاماً مذکور است و سلاماً سلاماً در نماز
 است هم صورت نماز خواهد بود^۴ آن درویش سکونت کرد و تسلیم
 شد و قبول کرد^۵

"Paradise consists in knowledge, and hell in ignorance. Since we are cognizant of the 32 words, and of our own being, and of all things, all things are paradise to us: there is no longer prayer, or fasting, or cleanness, or things unlawful: all is lawful. For all these things are obligations, and in paradise is no obligation. And by paradise is meant this world, with knowledge of the Science of the Letters and the Explanation of the Reveal (glorious be his mention!).' And the dervishes of Baghdad also, who are Darvish Amīr 'Alī Keyvān and Darvish Ṣadr-i-Ziyā, and Darvish Hasan Nūtiq, also hold and have held this. And Darvish Hājī 'Isā of Bitlis (upon whom be the Peace of God) enquired of His Holiness the Vicar of God in Ālādūgh, and disputed for some while with the Dervishes Mawlānā Hasan Haydarī and Darvish Muhammad Tīr-gar ['the Fletcher'] and Seyyid Tūju'd-Din and Seyyid Muẓaffar [about this point], his contention being, 'There is no obligation in Paradise; and we say that we are in Paradise, therefore there is no obligation upon us; and these five times of prayer are an obligation upon us, therefore they should not be performed,' and for some time he discoursed on this matter, until at length it came to the hearing of His Holiness the Vicar of God (on whom be the blessings of God), who answered him thus: 'Dost thou admit my knowledge and infallibility? There are but two alternatives.' That worthy dervish replied, 'This humble individual admits your knowledge and infallibility.' Then said the other, 'If thou regardest me as wise, I say that one should perform them.' And in the *Mahabbat-nāma-i-Ilāhī* (glorious be its mention!) His Holiness the Reveal (glorious be his mention!) says: 'Worship of God will at length turn the heads of philosophers, doctors, the ascetic and the devout, again to the World of Love; and Love consists in this, that one should fulfil the prostration of submission to every hair of the face, and eyebrow, and eyelash, and glance of the Beloved: and in Paradise, as is mentioned in the explicit word of Scripture, "then shall be said unto them, 'Peace! Peace!'" and "Peace!"'

Peace!" is in the prayers; it [i.e. Paradise] is therefore conformable to prayer.' That dervish was silent and submitted and acquiesced."

Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn then goes on to speak of the views prevalent amongst his fellow-believers in Shīrwān, Gilān ("some of whom believe in the World of Immortality as conformable to the World of Sleep"), Khurāsān (where Scyiyid Amīr Ishaq taught and gathered disciples), 'Irāq, Luristān, and Tabriz, most of whom seem to have discarded the outer forms of religion:—

و اهل عراق و لرستان و درویشان آن دیار اکثر بلکه همه بالحاد
و بی نمازی و بی تکلیفی مشغول گشته خودرا آزاد تصور کرده بدان
عمل مشغول اند' اهل تبریز درویشان اهل فتل بعضی برآئند که
پیشتر شد و قلم تکلیف برخاست' هرچه در کاپناخت است
(۲۵) حق انسان عارفست آنچه میسر گردد و تصرف میباید
نمود و آنچه میسر نگردد حق خود میباید دانست و در آن
کوشیدن که از دست غیر بیرون آورده عارف تصرف نماید' نماز
و طاعت و وضو و غسل و امثال این چیزها بر خاسته است' نماز از
درای آن بود که حقیقت آن معلوم گردد چون حقیقت معلوم
گشت دیگر نماز نیست و امثال این تکالیف بعضی برآئند
که حضرت صاحب تاویل ^ج در عرش نامه^ه الهی میفرماید
یعنی سی و دو مرا باشد کلام' آنکه اشارا بایشانست قیام'
در یکی گزید اگر از حق قرار' سی و یکثرا زو بیابی آشکار'
(۲۶) برادر عزیز جانی درویش محمد تیرگر رضوان اللہ علیہ از
طرف ما زدن دران بعد از استخلاص از حبس شیاعین که با حضرت
سرور شهدادا امیر نور اللہ صلوات اللہ علیہ آمدیم بطرف بغداد چون

به محرر و سه باغ قوبه رسیدیم رسید و چند مسئله آورد از آن جمله،
 یکی این بود که البته میباید که همه زبانها برآفتند الا عربی و فارسی
 بدلیل لسان اهل الجمّة عربی و فارسی دری که سی و دو کلمه درین
 دو زبان جاریست دیگر زبانها مکترند می باید که برآفتد، و یکی
 دیگر آنکه ارین فقیر سؤال کرد که حضرت صاحب تاویل راجیه و آن
 لنگ ملعون را کجا مشاهده میکنی، این فقیر گفت حقیقت آن
 لنگ مجس را در لفوه ملعون و حقیقت فضل رب العالمین راجیه
 در حضرت امیر نور اللہ او انکار کرد و گفت که حضرت صاحب
 بیان در مظہر بالـقـوـه است کـه پادشاهی میکند و آن لنگ در
 سگ است و در صورت سگ اورا مشاهده توان کرد،

"And most, nay, all of those of 'Irāq and Luristān, and the dervishes of that district, having entangled themselves in heresy, and discarded prayer and other obligations, imagine that in thus acting they enjoy liberty. As for those of Tabrīz, the dervishes who are followers of Fuzl,¹ some [of them too] hold that Paradise has come, and that the prescribed obligations are removed. 'Whatever is in creation,' [say they] 'is the due of the initiate: he should possess himself of whatever is obtainable, and as for what is beyond his reach, he ought to regard it as his by right, and strive to get it out of the hands of others, so that the initiate may take possession of it. Prayer, Worship, the greater and lesser ablutions, and the like of these things, are abrogated. Prayer existed so that the verity underlying it might become known: when that verity has become known, there is no more [need of] prayer, and the like obligations. . . . Some assert that His Holiness the

¹ Of course درویشان اهل نفل may be taken as meaning "the excellent" or "accomplished dervishes," but as Fuzl'u'llāh, the founder of the sect, was a Tabrizi, I think that the expression has a specific meaning, and denotes those Hurūfīs who derived their teaching directly from him.

Master of Interpretation (glorious be his mention !) says in the '*Arsh-nâma-i-llâh*':—

'That is, I have two and thirty words whereby all things subsist:

If by the Truth you abide in one, you will find the other one and thirty made plain thereby.'

That dear brother of my heart Darvîsh Muhammad Tir-gar ['the Fletcher'] (upon whom be the approval of God), when we approached Baghdad and reached the protected garden of Qûba with His Holiness 'the Delight of the Martyrs' Amîr Nûru'llâh (upon whom be the blessings of God), after our release from the bondage of the devils, arrived from Mûzandarân bringing several problems, of which one was this: 'All languages save Arabic and Persian must pass away, as is proved by [the tradition] "*the language of the people of Paradise is Arabic and Dari Persian*," for the thirty-two words [rather *letters*] are current in these two languages, while other languages are merely repeated,¹ wherefore they must pass away.' And another [problem] was this which he enquired of this humble individual: 'Where dost thou behold His Holiness the Master of Interpretation (glorious be his mention !) and that accursed lame man [i.e. Timûr-i-lang, 'Tamerlane']?' This humble individual replied: '[I behold] the essence of that unclean lame one in the accursed distortion² [?], and the essence of the Grace [*Fazl*] of the Lord of the Worlds (glorious be his mention !) in His Holiness Amîr Nûru'llâh.' He denied it, saying: 'His Holiness the Master of Interpretation is only potentially manifest, for he rules [by his influence and teachings which survive him], while that

¹ The Hurûfî system dealt primarily with the mystical virtues and significance of the 28 letters of the Arabic alphabet, and afterwards included (in the *Nuskhâ-i-Nâc*, or Supplement to the *Jâridâن-i-Kâbir*) the four additional Persian letters *چ*, *گ*, *ژ*, and *ۀ*, thus raising the total number to 32. Other languages, according to the Hurûfî view, would only repeat more or less perfectly these letters.

² The proper meaning of *سُب* is 'Paralysis, distortion of the mouth.' With the Hurûfîs it probably had some special signification.

lame man is in a dog, and in the form of a dog one may behold him.'"¹

All this very clearly shows that, as might have been expected *prima facie*, the doctrine of *ta'wil*, or allegorical interpretation, had produced amongst the Ḥurūfīs that disregard of the external forms of devotion, and impatience of restriction, which it always has tended, and always must tend, to produce. Not only were many of them disposed to abandon the prayers, fasting, and pilgrimage prescribed by the Law of Islām, but they were inclined, like the Carmathians, like the Anabaptists, like some of the early Bābis, to consider that to them, as a chosen people, it was given to "inherit the earth." Nor are there wanting in their books sundry indications of a tendency on their part to set aside the moral as well as the religious law; while it is clear that some of them, like Nesīnī, were given to indulging in those extravagant pretensions wherein to this day Persians of the class amongst which doctrines of this type find most favour are accustomed to revel.² An interesting passage in the *Istiwā-nāma* (f. 58^b) illustrates this:—

سلطان الموحدین و زبدة المجتهدین قائم مقام ق رب العالمین
 علی عالی عَم در بزم توحید ساکن بودند و بتشرب م الی
 مشغول بودند^۱ نظم سید سعید شهید امیر سید عمام الدین نسیمی
 رضوان اللہ علیہ در میان خوانده شد و ابیاتی چند که در آن نظم
 دعوی انانیت راجح بود^۲ این فقیر از ح ایشان با رسم لطیفه سوال
 کردم و گفت تم که چونست که امیر سید نسیمی که [از] هدایت
 یافتگان شما بودند ایسن همه دعوی انانیت کرده اند و البته هر
 صاحب کمال از منازل اعلای خسود دم زده اند و سخنیای بلند

¹ For a curious parallel, cf. my translation of the *New History of Mirzā 'Ali Muhammed the Bab*, p. 338.

² See my *Tear amongst the Persians*, pp. 475, 491-3.

فرهود داند مثل امیر المؤمنین علی علیه السلام در خطبه شقشقتیه و شیخ جنید و شیخ بازیزد و امثال این مشایخ کبار از شما امثال این صدا ظاهر نشد و نمی شود، آن حضرت با رسم لطیفه باین فقیر سخن چند فرهودند در جواب فرمودند که حاجت نیست که من از منازل خود خبر دهم که از منازل عالی این فقیر نص کتاب الپی تنزیل ناطق است و خبر میدهد، و این فقیر سؤال کردم که کدام است فرمودند که قوله تعالی و هو العلی العظیم و علیّ کبیر و امثال این آیات نعمت من است که خدا در کلام تنزیل فرمودند، و این قول را همین فقیر حاضر بود که استماع کرد و بر لوح خمیر منتش گردانید تا این دم که از آن حال مقدار سی سال کم و یا بیش گذشته صورت "حریر یافت تا چون بسمع طالب راه یقین و سالکان راه توحید ق رب العالمین" برسد این مستلزم را ازین فقیر در عرصه کائنات مانده داند و این فقیر بدعای خیر یاد فرمایند،

"The King of Unitarians and Cream of Divines, the Vicar of the Grace of the Lord of the Worlds [i.e. of Fażlu'llāh], the High, the Exalted, the Supreme (upon whom be Peace), was tarrying at the Banquet of Unification, and absorbed in quaffing the Divine Wine. The poetry of that blessed, martyred Seyyid, Amīr Seyyid 'Imādū'd-Dīn Nesīmī (upon whom be God's approval), was being read amongst us, and some verses in that poetry which appeared to imply a claim to [the Divine] Ipseity. This humble individual jestingly enquired of His Holiness saying: 'How is it that Seyyid Nesīmī, who was one of your converts, has put forward all these claims to Ipseity? Of course, every perfect man boasts of his highest levels, and utters great words, like 'Alī, the Prince of Believers, in the homily [known as] *Shaqshaqiyya*; and Sheykh Juneyd [of Baghdad]; and

Sheykh Bāyazid [of Bisṭām]; and the like of these great Sheykhs. But from you the like of these utterances hath not appeared and appeareth not.' His Holiness made several subtle observations to this humble individual, and answered: 'There is no need for me to tell of my levels, inasmuch as the Divine Scripture explicitly speaks and discourses of the high levels of this humble individual.' I asked, 'Which [passage] is it?' He replied: 'Where God says, "*and He is the Exalted, the Mighty,*" and "*One High and Great,*" and the like of these verses, it is to me that God refers in the words of Scripture.' And this humble individual was present when he heard this saying: and he engraved it on the tablet of his memory, until now, when a period of thirty years, more or less, has elapsed since that time, it hath been recorded in writing, so that, when it reaches the hearing of those who seek the Path of Certainty and pursue the Road of Unification of the Grace of the Lord of the Worlds [i.e. Fażlu'llāh] (glorious is his mention!), they may regard this question as somewhat left by this humble individual in the plain of phenomenal beings, and may remember him in their prayers."

A few quotations from Nesīmī's *Dīvān*, taken almost at random from the first few pages, will illustrate the character of the pretensions above referred to.

مائیم امیر هر دو عالم، مائیم عدو سور و ماتم،
 یک قطره ز بحر ماست شبیل، یک نقطه ز حرف ماست ادھم،
 ز بحر محيط ما شبی موج، حاصل شد از آن کنی شد آدم،
 عیسیٰ دمنده دم بزاید، گرزانکه دمیم دم بمریم،

"We are the Ruler of the two worlds: we are the enemy of rejoicing and mourning. Shibli is a drop from our Ocean: [Ibrāhīm] Adham is a Point of our Letter. One night our all-encompassing Ocean dashed a wave whose foam became Adam. Jesus, the Breather of Healing Breath, will be born if we breathe our breath into Mary."

از ما طلب ای پسر خدارا' مائیم چو مظہر الہی '
 "Seek God from us, O son, since we are the Divine Manifestation."

از سر پدر شدیم آگاه' احمد چو نشان راه بنمود '
 "We were acquainted with the Secret of the Father when Alimad [i.e. Muhammad] showed a sign of the Path."

ای طالب صورت خدائی' چون بگذری از دوئی خدائیم '
 "O seeker of the Divine Countenance, when thou quittest duality we are God!"

ای طالب حق به بین خدارا' در صورت خوب و حسن موزون '
 "O seeker of the Real, behold God in the fair face and symmetrical beauty!"

ای صوفی عمر داده بر باد' می نوش و بیا که ما ماضی فات '
 "O Ṣūfī who hast wasted thy life, come and drink wine, for what is passed is lost."

نظاره' صورت خدا کن' در شیوه' خط وجه زیبا'
 هیبات که حق نبینی امروز' ای غرّه بوعدهای فردا'
 "Contemplate the Face of God in the disposal of the down on a comely countenance: Alas, thou wilt not regard the Real to-day, O dupe of to-morrow's promises!"

صورت حق آنکه میگوید که روی خوب نیست
 چشم حق بین نیست اورا دعوی او باطلست '

"He who says that a fair face is not the Visage of God hath not the Truth-seeing eye and his pretension is vain."

چرخ معلق بنم فاعل مطلق بنم' حلقه یم و حق بنم آیتله بیانات '
 "I am the suspended Heaven, I am the Absolute Agent, I am with God, I am God, I am the Proofs and the Sign."

ای قیان توحید ایمان کفر و شرکش آدینی
 گل بو زیبا صورتہ قیل سجدہ کیم ایمان بودر^۱

"O thou who makest one the names of the Faith, of Blasphemy and of Polytheism, come, worship this fair form, for this (i.e. doing this) is the Faith!"¹

Surely here is sufficient proof to convict Nesīnī of unorthodoxy, quite apart from the essentially heretical doctrines of his sect, which certainly regarded Fazlu'llāh and his *Jāridān-nāma-i-Kabīr* as equal to Muḥammad and the Qur'ān, and probably as vastly superior; besides explaining away by their *ta'wil* most of the essential doctrines and prescribed ordinances of Islām!

It is now time to give a sample of the fanciful "correspondences" or analogies so industriously sought out by the *Hurūfis*. As the Qur'ān corresponds to man, each being the Book of God, so the *Fatiha*, the opening chapter of the Qur'ān, corresponds to the head of man. And just as this *sūra* comprises seven "signs" (*dydt*) or verses, the *sab'u'l-mathāni*, so in the face of man we have "seven signs," to wit, the *hair*, two *eyebrows*, and four rows of *eyelashes*. These, says the *Istivā-nāma* (f. 17b), are "the Seven Heavens," for in reality there is only one heaven:—

بدین دلیل علوم میشون که این آسمان ظاهر یکی باشد همچو زمین، آنکه هفت فرمودند مراد از سموات بدن آدم باشد که سر و خط سراست که از شکم حوا که ام است واصل است این هفت خطرا با خود همراه می آورد^۲

"By this proof it is known that the external heaven is only one, like the earth. When they speak of 'seven,' the 'heavens' of Man's body are meant, these being the

¹ For this corrected rendering, and for the following note, I am indebted to Mr. Gibb's kindness:—"This verse is addressed to the Adept who sees the Unity in all things — 'Synthesis' is perhaps better than 'Polytheism' for 'شرک'."

head and the 'lines of the head' [as above enumerated] which seven lines he brings with him when he comes forth from the womb of Eve, who is the Mother" (i.e., "the Mother of the Book," man, as we have seen, being "the Book").

In accordance with this idea, we find mention made by the author of the *Istiṣā-nāma* (f. 23^a) of two deceased ladies of his persuasion entitled "*Bibi Fatiha*" and "*Bibi Ummu'l-Kitāb*."

Supported, I suppose, by a traditional saying ascribed to 'Ali, "All that is in the Qur'ān is in the *Sūratu'l-Fatiha*," etc., and extending its application in a manner slightly different from that adopted by Sheykh Muhyiyu'd-Dīn b. al-'Arabī, and after him by the Bābis (who take the nineteen letters of the *Bismi'llāh* as the basis of their numerical mysticism), the Ḥurūfis next assume that the first verse of the *Fatiha* (الحمد لله رب العالمين), which contains eighteen letters, represents the "18,000 worlds" (cf. p. 71, supra) which constitute the Universe. Now the Sum of the Universe = God (الله) + "what is beside God" (ما سوا الله). Take away the 4 letters of الله from 18, and 14 is left, which number represents the Phenomenal or Material Creation. The same number 14 (to which the Ḥurūfis appear to attach great importance, perhaps as a multiple of 7) is arrived at in another way, as follows:—The Arābic alphabet comprises 28 letters. This alphabet in the Ḥurūfi system represents the sum of the Universe, i.e. God + "what is beside God." Take away what the Ḥurūfis call "the 14 letters of God" (چهارده حرف الله), by which they appear to mean the letters in the formula—الله لا إله إلا هو—, "God, there is no God but He!" and 14 letters remain to represent "what is beside God," i.e. the Material Worlds. The four letters in the 18—4 of the first reduction are represented in the alphabet by the four letters added by the Persians to the original 28 of the Arabs, which 28 is itself the double of 14.

Moreover, 14 joints make up the fingers (including, of course, the thumb) of the hand, or 28 the two hands. In pronouncing the declaration of the Divine Unity (تشهيد), the index-finger (hence called شهادت، "the Witness-finger") of one hand, and all the fingers of the other hand (making $14 + 3 = 17$ joints in all), are extended, while the remaining fingers (11 joints) are flexed. The 17 stand for the 17 كلامات، or primary forms of the Arabic letters, which are not dependent for their differentiation on the "point" or dot (*nugta*), viz.: ط, س, ر, د, ح, ب, ك, ف, ع, ن, م, ل, و, ه. The 11 stand for the 11 كلمات متشابهات, which are differentiated by the "point," viz.: ق, غ, ظ, ض, ش, ز, ذ, خ, ج, ث, ت. Thus, the *nugta* or "point" is the underlying basis, or primordial element, of the alphabet, which is its manifestation; while from another point of view it reveals, by differentiating, the letters. This appears to be the thought which underlies the assumption of the title "*Nugta*" by the Bāb, though it was no doubt immediately suggested to him by the final words of the traditional saying of 'Alī referred to above—

كُلُّ مَا فِي الْقُرْآنِ فِي الْفَاتِحَةِ، وَكُلُّ مَا فِي الْبَسْمَةِ فِي الْبَسْمَةِ وَكُلُّ
مَا فِي الْبَسْمَةِ فِي الْبَاءِ، وَكُلُّ مَا فِي الْبَاءِ فِي النَّقْطَةِ الَّتِي تَحْتَ الْبَاءِ
وَأَنَا النَّقْطَةُ الَّتِي تَحْتَ الْبَاءِ

"All that is in the Qur'an is in the Fatiha, and all that is in the Fatiha is in the Bism'llah, and all that is in the Bism'llah is in the Bā, and all that is in the Bā is in the Point which is under the Bā (ب), and I am the Point which is under the Bā." The "Point" contains potentially all the "Letters," or, in the words of the *Istiwa-nâma* (f. 5^a)—

ظُهُورُ كُلِّهِ از نَقْطَهِ اَسْتَ'

The mysteries of the number 14 are not yet exhausted. Every student of Islām knows how greatly the detached letters and groups of letters which stand at the heads of

certain *sûras* of the Qur'ân have exercised the ingenuity of Muslim doctors and mystics. The Hurûfîs have discovered that those letters are 14 in number (viz., كَبِيْعَصْ الرَّطْس حِمْ, آتَمْ, قَنْ, وَمَا يَعْلَمْ تَأْوِيلَهُ إِلَّا اللَّهُ). And that they occur in 14 combinations (viz.: حَمْ, قَنْ, مَسْ, طَسْ, طَمْ, طَسْم, طَمْ, طَسْم, طَسْم, طَسْم, طَسْم, طَسْم, طَسْم, طَسْم, طَسْم). To these letters they apply the title "Mother of the Book" (أُمُّ الْكِتَاب). Those (other than themselves) who seek to explain their significance they fiercely denounce (*Istidâ-nâma*, f. 22^a); for "None knoweth its interpretation save God" (وَمَا يَعْلَمْ تَأْوِيلَهُ إِلَّا اللَّهُ).

This harping on the number 7 and its multiples, together with the prominence given to the doctrine and method of *ta'wil*, or allegorical interpretation, disposed me to regard the Hurûfîs as a branch of the old Isma'ilîs, or "Sect of the Seven" (سبعيني). But I am bound to say that a poem of Nesîmî's (*Dirâr*, pp. 45, 46) devoted to the praise of the Twelve Imâms recognized by Shi'ites of the "Sect of the Twelve" (اثنی عشریني), is a strong argument against this view. And, indeed, in studying Muhammadan, and especially Persian, sects, I think we are far more likely to err in assuming an organic or historical connection between doctrines which present striking features of similarity (extending often to an identity of terminology) than in the other direction. The more we pursue this study, the more truth shall we discern in that acute observation of Gobineau, "the most formidable characteristic of the East is that it never forgets." Another profoundly true observation made by the same ingenious writer should constantly be borne in mind, viz., that as a rule the Persian is so much less fearful of contracting heretical notions than of losing some idea or illustration capable of being assimilated with his existing creed or system, that he will often cultivate the society of persons whom he regards as infidels and heretics, and whose creeds he holds in detestation, in the hope of being thereby enabled to enrich the fabric

of his belief with some new fragment of decorative architecture.¹ Thus the Ḥurūfis, whom one would scarcely describe as a sect formed in any degree under Christian influences, had evidently ransacked the Gospels for further confirmation and illustration of their ideas; for not only does the author of the *Istirā-nāma* (f. 23^b) talk of "seeking consolation and understanding from the Books of Explanation [or Revelation, بیان] of His Divine Holiness (exalted be His mention!), and from the Pentateuch, and the Gospel, and the Glorious Qur'ān and the Three Books" (whatever is meant by this last expression), but the Gospels are actually cited in at least two passages. The first of these occurs on f. 12^a:-

و حضرت در اول انجیل میفرماید که اول چیزی که از آسمان آمد سخن بود و خدا با آن سخن بود و من آن سخنم و من کلمه بودم که در رحم مریم در آدم و آن کلمه گوشتمند شد ‘

"And the Lord [Jesus] says in the beginning of the Gospel [of St. John]: 'The first thing which came from heaven was the Word [or Speech, *sukhan*], and God was with that Word, and I am that Word. And I was the Word [*kalima*] which entered into the womb of Mary; and that Word became incarnate.'"

The second citation is equally unmistakable, and occurs on f. 51^b:-

چشمی که بخیانت نظر کند آن چشم را بکن و بینداز که بیک چشم در زندگانی به که بدو چشم در دوزخ چون میدانی قهری هست که نمی نشیند و آتشی هست که نمی خسپد ' دستی که خیانت کند بیر که بیک دست در زندگانی به که بدو دست در دوزخ چون میدانی که قهری هست که نمی نشیند و آتشی هست که نمی خسپد '

¹ *Religions et Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1866, p. 7.

"That eye which offends [or 'plays the traitor'], pluck it out and cast it away, for it is better [to be] in Life with one eye than in Hell with two eyes; since thou knowest that there is a Wrath which abateth not and there is a Fire that dieth not. That hand which offends, cut it off, for it is better [to be] in Life with one hand than in Hell with two hands; since thou knowest that there is a Wrath which abateth not and there is a Fire that dieth not."

So at the present day the Bābis (particularly the Bahā'is) have freely borrowed illustrations, expressions, and arguments from the Christian and Jewish Scriptures, adapting them, of course, in every case, to their own requirements, and understanding them in their own ways, which naturally differ very considerably from the interpretations with which the West is familiar.

To return, however, to another point on which I just now touched, viz. the existence of striking but apparently fortuitous resemblances in Persian sects between which it is very difficult to assume any actual contact or organic connection. Is it not a remarkable thing that, not to mention all this talk about the "POINT" and "LETTERS," we find Fazlu'llūh called in a passage of the *Istivā-nāma* (f. 23^b) "*Hazrat-i-Sāhib-i-BAYĀN*" and his books "*Kitāb-hā-yi BAYĀN*," while the colophon (see p. 63, supra) states that the transcription was concluded "*bi-'awni Fadli [Fazlī]-Fatihi'l-BĀB*"? Is it not remarkable that the numbers 360 and 18 should appear in the Hurūfi books only less prominently than do 361 ("the Number of All Things") and 19 ("the Number of the Unity") in the books of the Bābis? Even in the titles given to the saints and martyrs of the two sects there is an extraordinary similarity, for if the Bābis have their "*Hazrat-i-A'lā*," the Hurūfis have their "*Hazrat-i-'Aliyy-i-Āliy-i-A'lā*"; if the Bābis have their "*Ismu'l-'Azīm*" (Mullā Sheykh 'Alī), the Hurūfis have their "*Ismu 'Huwa'l-'Aliyyu'l-Kabir*"; if the Bābis have their "Beloved of the Martyrs" ("*Mahbūbu'sh-Shuhadā*"), the Hurūfis have their "Delight of the Martyrs" ("*Surūru'sh-*

Shuhada"); if a Bābī seer recognizes the soul of a dead unbeliever in a dog, a Ḥurūfī (pp. 77-8, *supra*) beholds Tamerlane, the oppressor of his faith, in the form of the same animal. And yet it is very improbable that the Bābis had any knowledge whatever of the Ḥurūfīs, or had ever so much as heard of the sect or its founder!

The truth is, that there is a profound difference between the Persian idea of Religion and that which obtains in the West. Here it is the ideas of Faith and Righteousness (in different proportions, it is true) which are regarded as the essentials of Religion; there it is Knowledge and Mystery. Here Religion is regarded as a rule by which to live and a hope wherein to die; there, as a Key to unlock the Secrets of the Spiritual and Material Universe. Here it is associated with Work and Charity; there, with Rest and Wisdom. Here a creed is admired for its simplicity; there, for its complexity. To Europeans these speculations about "Names" and "Numbers" and "Letters"; this talk of Essences, Quiddities, and Theophanies; these far-fetched analogies and wondrous hair-splittings, appear, as a rule, not merely barren and unattractive, but absurd and incomprehensible; and consequently, when great self-devotion and fearlessness of death and torture are witnessed amongst the adherents of such a creed, attempts are instinctively made by Europeans to attribute to that creed some ethical or political aim. Such aim may or may not exist, but, even if it does, it is, I believe, as a rule, of quite secondary and subordinate importance in the eyes of those who have evolved and those who have accepted the doctrine. There are in the *Baydn*, for instance, amongst pages and pages of mystical rhapsody, a few passages which seem to show that the Bāb desired to secure amongst his followers a greater happiness to children, a greater freedom to women, and a greater gentleness and kindness in life; it is even possible by careful study of his writings to form some idea of the Utopia which, clearly or dimly, existed in his mind. Yet of all those Bābis who died for their faith, it is very doubtful if one consciously laid down his life for

any such ethical, social, or political ideals. Even about so important a matter as the Future Life we perceive that amongst the Hurūfīs (pp. 71–8, supra), as amongst the Bābis, the greatest difference of opinion and uncertainty of doctrine prevailed; yet of the mystical significations of the numbers 14 and 19 respectively, and of the doctrine concerning “the Point” and “the Letters,” hardly one would be entirely ignorant.

The same difference of ideal exists as to the quality and nature of Scripture, the Revealed Word of God. Provided the ethical teaching be sublime, and there be peace for the troubled and comfort for the sorrowful, we care little, comparatively, for the outward form. But in the eyes of the Musulmāns (including, of course, the followers of all those sects, even the most heretical, which have arisen in the bosom of Islām) this outward form is a matter of the very first importance. Every letter and line of the Qur'ān (which always remains the model and prototype of a Revealed Book, even amongst those sects who claim that it has been abrogated by a newer Revelation) is supposed to be fraught with unutterable mystery and filled with unfathomable truth. Generations of acute minds expend their energies in attempts to fathom these depths and penetrate these mysteries. What wonder if the same discoveries are made quite independently by different minds in different ages, working with the same bent on the same material? In studying the religious history of the East, and especially of Persia, let us therefore be on our guard against attaching too much importance to resemblances which may be the natural outcome of similar minds working on similar lines, rather than the result of any historical filiation or connection.

POSTSCRIPT.

For the following interesting extracts from two Turkish works I am indebted to Mr. Gibb:—

(I) *From the Kunhu'l-Akhbār of 'Ālī Efendi, composed A.H. 1007. (Constantinople printed edition, not dated, vol. iv, pp. 182-3.)*

حکایت اولنور که ابو الفتح سلطان محمد خان عصرنده تبریزدہ پیدا اولان فضل الله حروفیت بر مرید پلیدی مَرَّةً بِلِیده سی ایله ملک رومه گلدی 'بر طریقہ شہریار مزبورہ تقرّب ایدوب حضورنده کلی التفاتنه مظہر دوشدی ' حتی دار السعادتہ کندو ایچون بر مسکن خاص دوشتندی ' وزیر محمود پاشا علمادن اولمغلہ بو حضووھ آزردہ اولدی ' پادشاه زمانش عقیدہ طاهرہ سی تکدرنہ باعث اولور دیو دفعی تدارکنہ مجدد اولوب مفتی مزبوری (مولانا فخر الدین عجمی) حرم سراینہ گتورتدى ' وراء حجابتہ اجلس ایدوب خلیفہ' فضل الله ی دعوت قیلدى ' اثناء کلامدہ مذهب باطلنہ میلان گوسترب و افرسویلتدى ' مولانا فخر الدین شول محلہ دک سکوت ایتدیکه ملحد مزبوری کلامی حلول قصہ سنہ یتدی فلا جرم اغہار حقدہ قضای میرم مقولہ سی اولمغین صبر ایدہ میوب طشرہ چقدی و ملحد حروفی یہ و افرستب و لعن ایلدی ' مزبور ق-اچرق دار السعادتہ یہ گتدى ' منلای مزبور کمال حدت ایله آرد مجھے واروب تعقیب ایتدی ' خواه و ناخواه مزبوری یقاسن الله آلوب کشان کشان جامع کبیرہ ایلسندی ' بی وقت اذان او قیدوب علماء و سائر

ناسی بر بیره گتوردی ' بعده منبره چیقوب ملاحدة حروزیش
 مذهب باطللرینی بر بر بیان ایلدی ' آندنصلّه حکمت بقتلهم
 و نفاقهم حتی باشرت باحراقهم دیه رک منبردن ایندی ' مسلمانلره
 و افراد طوون گتوردوب بالذات آتش او فلمگه مقید اولدی ' لحیه سی
 طویل اولمغین صقالینش برمقداری یاندی ' ملحد مزبوری و مَرَدَه
 سینی احراق بالنار ایدوب ذهن پاک سلطانی تکدر تهمتندن خلاص
 قیلدی ' پادشاه موہی الیه ملای مسفورگ ورع و تقواسندن حجاب
 ایدوب منعنه متعلق بر سوز سویلمدی '

Translation.

"It is related that in the time of Abu'l-Feth Sultān Muhammād Khān an unclean apostle of Fazlu'llāh the Hurūfī, who appeared in Tabrīz, came with his benighted and froward disciples to the Turkish kingdom. He obtained in some manner access to the King, and received the highest marks of his favour; indeed, he had furnished a private lodging for him in the Imperial Palace. The Vizier Maḥmūd Pāshā, being one of the 'Ulamā, was vexed at this incident, and, anticipating that he would corrupt the pure belief of the Prince of the Age, he determined to make strenuous efforts to get rid of him, and [to this end] caused the before-mentioned *Muftī* [i.e. Mevlānā Fakhru'd-Dīn 'Ajānī] to be brought into a private apartment in his mansion. There he seated him behind a curtain, and summoned in the Vicar of Fazlu'llāh. In the course of conversation, he induced him to speak freely by feigning a predilection for his false doctrine. Mevlānā Fakhru'd-Dīn remained silent to that point when the discourse of that heretic reached the fable of Incarnation [*ḥulūl*]; [then] as through some inexorable compulsion to declare the truth, come what might, he could keep patience no longer, but

rushed out abundantly reviling and cursing that Hurūfī heretic. The latter fled and went to the Imperial Palace, but the before-mentioned *mulla* followed after and pursued him with the utmost fury, and, seizing him by the collar, dragged him *nolens volens* to the Great Mosque. There he raised an unseasonable call to prayer, so bringing the ‘Ulamā and other people into one place. Then he ascended into the pulpit and exposed one by one the false beliefs of the Hurūfī heretics, after which, crying out, ‘I pronounce them worthy of slaughter for their sacrilege, yea, I set my hand to their burning,’ he descended from the pulpit. Then he caused the Musulmāns to bring quantities of firewood, and was actually at the trouble to blow the fire himself, so that, his beard being long, a part of it was burned. So he burned the aforementioned heretic and his froward disciples with fire, and so saved the pure mind of the King from the suspicion of corruption. And the King was so shamed by the aforementioned Mullā’s devoutness and piety that he did not utter a single word tending to hinder him.”

(II) *The following notice of the obscure poet Temennā’i is from Latifi; he is not mentioned by ‘Ashiq Chelebi or Qināli-zādē.*

تمتایی علیه ما یستحثّق:—قیصریه قریندن بر قلندر ایدی علم
حروفه و مذهب تنسخه متعلق کتابلر جمع ایدوب یاننه خیلی
زنادقه و ملاحده لعن اللہ علی حده مجتمع اولمشلار ایدی، آدم
عالیم کبیری و مظہر حضرت خدادار دیوب (مطلع)
ای صنم سن مظہر اللہ سن، نسخه جمنه کلام اللہ سن،
دیو-گوردکلری محبوبه سجده ایدرلردى و سجدہ لرنده سھو ایدوب
طربی-ق ابلیسه گیدرلر ایدی، سلطان بای-زید دورنده اول طائفة

شـةـاقـلـکـ کـیـمـنـیـ آـبـ تـیـغـلـهـ اـغـرـاقـ وـ کـیـمـنـیـ آـتـیـشـ رـذـیـلـهـ اـحـرـاقـ
 اـنـدـیـلـرـ بـوـ مـطـلـعـ آـنـثـ کـرـهـاـنـدـنـ وـ جـمـلـهـ کـفـرـیـاتـنـدـنـ دـرـ (ـمـطـلـعـ)
 صـوـفـ قـلـدـرـ اـوـلـ کـلـ قـاـزـتـ سـچـیـ سـقـالـیـ
 سـاـکـهـ بـوـ بـرـ طـوـزـ قـدـرـ کـیـدـرـ بـوـ قـیـلـ وـ قـالـیـ
 (ـبـیـتـ) اـبـلـهـ اـوـلـمـهـ صـوـفـ وـیـرـمـهـ نـقـدـ عـمـرـیـ نـسـنـیـهـ
 گـوـزـلـ آـچـ دـیدـارـ وـ جـشـتـ حـورـ وـ غـلـمـانـ بـونـدـهـ دـرـ
 وـ بـوـ مـطـلـعـ فـارـسـیـ دـخـیـ تـعـرـیـفـ اـسـرـارـهـ آـنـثـ گـفـتـارـنـاـ هـمـوـارـنـدـنـدـرـ
 حـبـةـ الـخـضـرـاـ کـهـ بـرـ کـفـ عـارـفـانـ جـاـ کـرـدـهـ اـنـدـ
 اـزـ خـیـالـ اوـهـزـارـانـ نـکـتـهـ پـیدـاـ کـرـدـهـ اـنـدـ

Translation.

“*Tamannā’i—may he receive his deserts!*”—was a wandering *darvîsh* (*qalandar*) from the district of Cuesurea. He had collected many books bearing on the Science of the Letters and the Doctrine of Metempsychosis, and there had gathered round him numbers of atheists and heretics (God’s curse on each one of them!), who asserted that Man was the Macrocosm and the Manifestation of the Majesty of God, saying:—‘*O Idol, thou art the Divine Theophany! Thou art the copy of the whole book of God!*’ and worshipped every beauty whom they saw, erring in their worship, and walking in the way of Iblîs. In the time of Sultân Bâyazîd, they drowned some of this band of schismatics with the water of the sword, and burned others with the fire of repudiation. The following headline (*maṭla’*) is one of his foolish and blasphemous utterances:—

‘*O Ṣūfī! be a Qalandar, come, get your hair and beard shaved off:*
This is a snare for thee: this talk and tattle passes away.’

(Couplet)—

'Be not a fool, O Sūfi; spend not the cash of thy life on aught:

Open thine eyes: Paradise and the Beatific Vision, the black-eyed maidens and fair attendants [of Heaven], are HERE!'

This Persian headline, too, declaring the mysteries, is from his ill-considered utterances:—

'That Grain of Green¹ which the Gnostics hold in the palms of their hands,

By the fantasies which it inspires they have discovered thousands of subtle mysteries.'"

¹ *Habbatu'l-Khadra* is explained by Redhouse as "the fruit of the *Pistachia terebinthus*," and in Schlimmer's *Terminologie Médico-Pharmaceutique* (Tibrān, 1874), p. 464, as the seeds of the *Pistacia acuminata*, or "Persian turpentine-seeds." Hero one is tempted to think of *hashtah* (*Cannabis Indica*), to which the epithet "green" is so constantly applied by the Persians (e.g. "the Green Parrot," "Master Seyyid," etc.), but it is not unlikely that turpentine-seeds, in consequence of their aphrodisiac properties, may enter into the composition of some of the various preparations used by dervishes.



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Further Notes on the Literature of the Hurufis and Their Connection with the Bektashi Order of Dervishes

Author(s): Edward G. Browne

Source: *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, urnal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (Jul., 1907), pp. 533-581

Published by: Cambridge University Press

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25210447>

Accessed: 17-09-2016 19:35 UTC

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at

<http://about.jstor.org/terms>



Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Cambridge University Press are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*

XXII.

**FURTHER NOTES ON THE LITERATURE OF THE
HURUFIS AND THEIR CONNECTION WITH THE
BEKTASHI ORDER OF DERVISHES.**

BY EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B., F.B.A., M.R.A.S.

NINE years ago, in the *J.R.A.S.* for January, 1898, pp. 61–94, I published an article entitled *Some Notes on the Literature and Doctrines of the Ḥurūfī Sect.* The materials for that article were chiefly derived from a manuscript of the *Jāridān-i-Kabir* (Ee. 1. 27) in the Cambridge University Library, and two manuscripts (*Anciens Fonds Persan*, 24, and *Supplément Persan*, 107) in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, of which the former contained (1) the *Isticā-nāma* of the Amīr Ghīyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḫusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḫusaynī, of Astarābād, composed shortly after A.H. 828 (= A.D. 1425), (2) an allegorical *mathnawi* poem, and (3) a glossary of the dialect words used in the *Jāridān-i-Kabir*; while the latter contained another Ḥurūfī treatise which appeared to be that entitled the *Mahabbat-nāma*. Thanks to information contributed by the late Mr. E. J. W. Gibb, I was also able to prove that the sect, which appears not to have taken root in Persia, the land of its birth, spread into Turkey, where it caused some commotion at several different periods, and suffered several fierce persecutions, amongst the victims of which (in A.H. 820 = A.D. 1417–18) was the bilingual poet Nesimī, whose *Dirān* is not uncommon in manuscript, and was printed at the *Akhtar* Press in Constantinople in A.H. 1298 (= A.D. 1881). I was not, however, aware at that time how considerable was the extent of the Ḥurūfī literature still extant, nor did I know that the Ḥurūfī doctrines are still

professed and taught amongst the members of the Bektáshí Order of Dervishes.

The connection of the Ḥurúfís with the Bektáshí first became known to me in the following manner. About three years after the publication of the article to which I have referred above, a certain dealer in Oriental manuscripts in London, a native of Baghdad, from whom I had already purchased a considerable number of MSS., invited me to furnish him with a list of my desiderata, in order that he might submit the same to his correspondents in the East. I did so, and mentioned in my list the *Járidán-náma* or any other Ḥurúfi books. Shortly afterwards (in Feb.–March, 1901) he forwarded to me a parcel of manuscripts in which was included a copy of this work (now in the British Museum, marked Or. 5,957) besides some other books of the sect in question. The prices set on these MSS. were high, but some half-dozen were secured by the Cambridge University Library, while another half-dozen were purchased by the British Museum, and now bear the class-marks Or. 5,957–Or. 5,961.

The comparatively high prices realised by these MSS. seem to have stimulated the search for other similar ones, and gradually, as the supply not only continued but increased, it became clear that these Ḥurúfi books existed in considerable quantities, and were still widely read and copied in the East, especially in Turkey. Prices consequently fell rapidly, and latterly few of these MSS. have fetched more than £2 or £3 in the limited market where the demand for them existed. Nor was it long before we discovered that it was from the Bektáshí dervishes that they were, in almost all cases, directly or indirectly derived, and that it was amongst the members of this Order that the Ḥurúfi doctrines flourish at the present day.

With this dervish order all who have visited Constantinople or other parts of the Turkish Empire with open eyes are familiar. Towards Christians, and even Christian missionaries, they commonly show an unusual friendliness, but amongst the Muhammadans they are regarded with

a much more unfavourable eye than the Mevlevís, Rufá'ís, Qádirís, and other dervish orders. The reason of their ill repute I had hitherto been unable to ascertain: it was generally asserted that they shared the Shi'ite views of the Persians, but this did not explain why they were more disliked by the orthodox Sunní Turks than were the heterodox Persians with whom they were supposed to be in sympathy. Moreover, Hájji Bektaş, the founder of the order, though of Persian origin, enjoyed high favour with the Ottoman Sultan in his day, lived and died in the odour of sanctity, and is chiefly known in history as having conferred his blessing on the Janissary corps when it was first formed; a blessing in memory of which the Janissaries wore on their head-dresses a white band, supposed to represent the sleeve of the saint as it rested in blessing on the head of their leader. Hájji Bektaş is said by Mu'allim Nájí (*Asámt*, p. 106) to have died in A.H. 738 (= A.D. 1337-8), which date, curiously enough, coincides with the sum of the numerical values of the letters composing the word *Bektáshiyá* (بكتاشيّة) by which the order which he founded is known. Fadlu'lláh the Hurúfi was born two years later, in A.H. 740.

The matter is explained and the connection further established in the only printed book included amongst 46 Hurúfi works acquired by the British Museum, the Cambridge University Library, and myself since 1901. This book, published in A.H. 1291 (= A.D. 1874-5), is entitled *Káshifu'l-Asrár u Dáft'u'l-Ashrár* ("The Revealer of Mysteries and the Refuter of Reprobates"), and was composed by one of the orthodox 'Ulamá named Isháq Efendi in denunciation of the Bektaşís. For the most part it consists of a detailed refutation of a Hurúfi work of 32 chapters (according to the number of the letters in the Perso-Arabian alphabet) entitled *Ishq-náma* ("The Book of Love") by 'Izzu'd-Dín Firishtázáda. Of this book the Bektaşís had three years previously (in A.H. 1288 = A.D. 1871-2) ventured to publish a lithographed edition, of which also I possess a copy. In the preface of his refutation Isháq Efendi speaks (p. 2) as follows:—

"Be it known that of all those sects which busy themselves with misleading the people of Islám, the Bektáshís are the chief offenders, and that although it is obvious both from their words and deeds that they are not of the Muslims, in the year A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871-2) they made this fact patent to all. The books which these persons call *Járidán* are six in number, one of which was composed by their original misleader, Fadlu'lláh the Hurúfi, while the other five are the works of his *Khalífas* (Vicars). And since in these five books their heresies and blasphemies are very evident, they are wont to teach and study them secretly amongst themselves; but as Firishta-zádá in his *Járidán*, entitled '*Ishq-náma* ("The Book of Love"), did in some measure conceal his blasphemies, and since in the above-mentioned year A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871-2) they [i.e. the Bektáshís] made so bold as to print and circulate this work, it has unquestionably become a matter of urgent necessity that a treatise should be written to make known to the faithful their true character, and the blasphemous nature of the doctrines contained in their books. Therefore, relying on God, I have ventured to write such a treatise, comprising three chapters, as follows:—

"*Chapter i* :—Setting forth the origin of Fadl[u'lláh] the Hurúfi, and the principles and laws of certain of the Bektáshís.

"*Chapter ii* :—Setting forth the blasphemies of Firishta-zádá's *Járidán*.

"*Chapter iii* :—Setting forth the blasphemies of the other *Járidáns*."

The author next speaks briefly of the Carmathians (*al-Qarámiqa*), whom he regards as the successors of the *Ibáhiyya*, or communists (meaning probably the Mazdakites), and the progenitors of the Hurúfis. Thence he passes to Fadlu'lláh, "who," says he, "secretly busied himself in teaching his blasphemies, and raised up for himself nine *Khalífas* or Vicars." "After a while," he continues further on, "the evil doctrines of these heretics became known amongst men, and the son of Tímúr [*i-Lang*, i.e. Tamerlane]

caused Faḍl the Ḥurúfi to be put to death, after which he tied a rope to his legs, dragged him publicly through the streets and bázárs, and removed his foul existence from this nether world."

After the death of the founder of the Ḥurúfi sect, according to Isháq Efendi, "his *Khalífas*, or Vicars, agreed to disperse themselves through the lands of the Muslims," and he who bore the title of *al-'Alī al-A'lu* ("the High, the Supreme") came to the monastery of Hájji Bektásh in Anatolia, and there lived in seclusion, teaching the *Járidán* to the inmates of the monastery, and assuring them that it represented the teaching of Hájji Bektásh the Saint (*wali*). "The inmates of the monastery," continues Isháq Efendi, "being ignorant and foolish, accepted the *Járidán*, notwithstanding that its obvious purport was the denial of all divine obligations and the pandering to the lusts of the flesh; named it 'the Secret'; and enjoined the utmost secrecy concerning it, to such a degree that if anyone enters their order and afterwards reveals 'the Secret' they consider his life forfeit. By this their so-called 'Secret' is meant certain blasphemous passages in the *Járidán*, hinted at and alluded to by detached letters like *alif* (!), *waw* (و), *jim* (ج), and *sayn* (س), for the understanding of which symbols they have composed a tract entitled *Miftáhu'l-Hayát* ('The Key of Life'). This they name 'the Secret'; and should one possess it, he understands the *Járidán*, which without it is incomprehensible. They were thus careful to conceal their secret for fear lest the doctors of religion should obtain some inkling of its nature, and should suppress it; and thus, since A.H. 800 (= A.D. 1397-8), have they succeeded in secretly seducing many.

"But in A.H. 1240 (= A.D. 1824-5), during the reign of his late Majesty Sultán Maḥmúd Khán-i-Ghází (whose abode is now in Paradise), their blasphemies became in some degree apparent, so that he commanded their elders (*úlú*), who sold false miracles to the ignorant, to be put to death, their monasteries to be levelled with the ground, and their lands and part of their allowances to be made over to the

Naqsh-bandí order of dervishes. So, in the course of the next thirty or forty years they continued, some in the guise of shaykhs and dervishes of the Su'dí, some of the Rufá'í, some of the Qádirí, and some of the Naqshbandí orders, each in his own chosen retreat, secretly to teach their blasphemies and heresies, until finally, in the year A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871-2), they fully disclosed their false doctrines, to such a degree that Firishta-zádú dared to print and publish amongst the Muslims his *Járidán*."

The author next enumerates their chief heresies and the wiles whereby they seek to mislead simple-minded Muslims. He says that they believe in the divinity of Faḍlu'lláh, and regard the Deity as a power which manifested itself through Moses, Jesus, and all the great Prophets, and revealed the Scriptures which they brought, though it did not reveal their true allegorical meaning until it appeared in person as Faḍlu'lláh in the year A.H. 800 (= A.D. 1397-8) at Astarábád in Persia, bringing the *Járidán*, which contained the true explanation of all the revealed books which had preceded it. This being their actual belief, they pretend to be Shí'ites and devoted admirers of the Prophetic Household; declaring love of the Prophet's family to be the root of the matter, and the sins of him who loves 'Alí to be venial. Thus they accustom their neophytes to neglect prayer and fasting and to indulge in forbidden practices, like the drinking of wine, and only "when they are well assured of their infidelity," to quote our author's words, "do they teach them that blasphemous heresy which they call 'the Secret,' since in fact there is in the *Járidáns* no mention of the name of anyone connected with the Holy Family; only, in order to attract the Shí'ites, they say that He who appeared in the form of 'Alí was again Faḍl the Ḥurúfi."

They have also, according to Ishaq Efendi, a rule or custom which they call "the sixteen girdles," each girdle representing allegiance to one of the Prophets. He who girds himself with one of these girdles takes the Prophet represented by that girdle as his special patron, and professes to observe his law, but in fact only observes some one point

which he regards as typical of that Prophet. They also believe in the three Persons of the Christian Trinity, and credit their own *bábás* or elders with miraculous powers, but the neophytes of the order are ignorant of these things, and merely believe themselves to be Shi'ites.

I should like, did space permit, to quote at greater length from this interesting book, but I have, I think, said enough to prove beyond all doubt the intimate connection which exists between the Ḫurúfís and the Bektáshíes. It is curious that the sect seems to have disappeared from Persia, the land of its birth, while in Turkey its main stronghold is, as I am informed by Mr. Andrew Ryan, British Vice-Consul at Constantinople, in Albania. Hence, while the older Ḫurúfi literature is chiefly in Persian, the later literature is almost entirely in Turkish. In Arabic there appears to be but little, save a version (apparently abridged) of Firishta-záda's '*Ishq-náma*, of which a manuscript (labelled كتاب الفضل الاعجمي) was acquired by the Cambridge University Library in December last.

Of the doctrines of the Ḫurúfís I have not space to speak at length here; I have discussed them in outline in my article in the *J.R.A.S.* for January, 1898, pp. 69–89, and an admirable sketch of these is given by the late Mr. E. J. W. Gibb in vol. i of his *History of Ottoman Poetry*, pp. 338–342, 353–355, 373 *et seqq.* Nor are the materials required for a full elucidation of these doctrines at present sufficiently accessible, though in a short time M. Clément Huart will publish in the Gibb Memorial Series a volume of Persian Ḫurúfi texts with French translations, to which I hope to add a short Introduction or Appendix. Amongst the texts which M. Huart proposes to publish are the *Hidáyat-náma*, the *Mahram-náma*, the *Niháyat-náma*, and other treatises, as well as a list of the abbreviations used by the Ḫurúfís, and the glossary of the dialect-words employed in the *Járidán-i-Kabir* and other Ḫurúfi writings.

I regret that at present I have been unable to find any reference to the execution of Fadlu'lláh, or the causes which led to it, in any of the chronicles of the reign of Tímúr-i-Lang,

in which it occurred. Nor are the chief dates given altogether satisfactory, for while A.H. 804 (= A.D. 1401-2) is mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar as the date of Faḍlu'lláh's death, and, more generally, A.H. 800 (= A.D. 1397-8) by Isháq Efendi as the date when the Ḥurúfi doctrines began to be promulgated, we find on the fly-leaf of one of the Ḥurúfi MSS. in the British Museum (Or. 6,381), dated A.H. 1163 (= A.D. 1750), the following series of dates :—

- (1) Birth of Faḍlu'lláh, A.H. 740 (= A.D. 1339-40).
- (2) Manifestation, or disclosure, of knowledge, A.H. 788
 (= A.D. 1386-7).
- (3) Martyrdom of Faḍlu'lláh, A.H. 796 (= A.D. 1393-4).
- (4) Age of Faḍlu'lláh at the time of his death, 56 years.
- (5) Death of his *Khalífa*, or Vicar, entitled *Hadrat-i-‘Aliyyi A'lá*, A.H. 822 (= A.D. 1419).
- (6) Death of Anti-Christ (*Dajjál*), who is “Márán-sháh”
 (i.e. Timúr's son, Míránszáh, whose name the
 Ḥurúfis have thus changed to make it mean “the
 Serpent-King”), A.H. 803 (= A.D. 1400-1).

Lastly, the following verse, inscribed by the side of the above dates, would seem to imply that Faḍlu'lláh performed the pilgrimage to Mecca in A.H. 775 (= 1373-4) :—

از ذال گذشته عَيْن وَهِيَ جُون ‘ از کعبه قدم نهاد بیرون ’

“‘Ayn (ع = 70) and Há (ه = 5) had passed from *Dháil* (ذ = 700) when he [i.e. Faḍlu'lláh] set his foot outside the Ka'ba.”

In conclusion, I cannot refrain from quoting a very curious and interesting document which I found on f. 24 of the British Museum MS. Or. 6,380, and which appears to be, having regard both to the superscription and the contents, the last testament of Faḍlu'lláh, written on a piece of paper and placed by him between the leaves of the *Mahabbat-náma-i-Iláhi*. This document runs as follows :—

وصیت نامه

سوان خطا مبارک حـ قـ هـ [یعنی حضرت فضیل جلـ شـ آـ نـهـ]
 بر قطعه کاغذ نوشته در میان اوراق محبـت نـامـه الـهـی بـود قـطـعـ
 یـکـ دـلـ اـزـ شـوـقـ سـخـنـهـاـ دـارـمـ قـاصـدـیـ نـیـسـتـ کـهـ درـ پـیـشـ توـ
 تـقـرـیرـ کـنـدـ 'ـ خـداـ بـرـ حـالـ اـیـنـ فـقـیرـ گـواـهـ اـسـتـ کـهـ بـغـیرـ اـزـ تـفـرـقـةـ اـطـفالـ
 وـ مـفـارـقـتـ اـصـحـابـ هـیـچـ نـگـرانـیـ نـمـانـدـهـ اـسـتـ 'ـ مـسـئـلـهـ چـنـدـ کـهـ
 نـگـرانـ بـودـ تـسـلـیـمـ آـنـ عـزـیـزـ وـ عـزـیـزـانـ کـرـدـهـ اـسـتـ 'ـ اـگـرـ حـقـ تـعـالـیـ
 بـجـمـیـعـ نـیـکـ خـواـسـتـ باـشـدـ بـرـسـدـ باـقـیـ تـاـ جـهـ خـواـهـدـ کـرـدـ 'ـ یـاـ رـبـ
 یـاـ رـبـ شـبـهـایـ منـ

(f. 248) در هـمـهـ عمرـ هـرـ یـکـ دـوـسـتـ درـ شـرـوـانـ نـبـودـ 'ـ
 دـوـسـتـ کـیـ باـشـدـ کـجاـ اـیـ کـاشـ بـودـ آـشـناـ 'ـ
 مـنـ حـسـینـ وقتـ وـ نـاـ اـهـلـانـ یـزـیدـ وـ شـمـرـ مـنـ 'ـ
 رـوزـ گـارـمـ جـمـیـلـهـ عـاـشـورـاـ وـ شـرـوـانـ کـرـبـلاـ 'ـ

برـ آـنـ عـزـیـزـانـ پـوـشـیدـهـ نـیـسـتـ کـهـ اـیـنـ فـقـیرـ رـاـ اـزـ جـهـتـ دـیـنـ نـگـرانـیـ
 نـمـانـدـهـ اـسـتـ سـلـامـ وـ دـعـایـ ماـ دـرـبـینـ آـخـرـ بـاـصـحـابـ وـ بـیـارـانـ وـ دـوـسـتـانـ
 بـرـسـانـدـ وـ نـوـعـ سـازـنـدـ کـهـ اـیـنـ قـاعـدـهـاـ وـ اـیـنـ اـبـیـاتـ وـ اـیـنـ حـقـایـقـ
 بـسـایـشـانـ بـرـسـدـ 'ـ رـوزـ چـنـدـ بـگـوـشـهـ نـاـ شـناـختـ فـروـکـشـ کـنـنـدـ وـ آـنـراـ
 ضـبـطـ بـکـنـنـدـ وـ اـیـنـ آـثـیـنـ نـوـاسـتـ 'ـ آـنـ فـرـزـنـدـ وـ مـانـدـگـانـ وـ آـزـادـگـانـ رـاـ
 اـزـ مـاـ بـهـ پـرـسـنـدـ وـ السـلامـ 'ـ

TRANSLATION.

“TESTAMENT.

(“Copy of the Blessed Writing of H. F. J. H. [= HADRAT-I-FADLU’LLAH, JALLA SHA’NUHU]¹ written on a fragment of paper and placed amongst the leaves of the *Mahabbat-náma*.)

“I have a whole heart [filled] with eagerness for speech, but there is no messenger to declare to thee [what I would say]. God is witness of the condition of this poor unfortunate that, save parting from [his] children and separation from [his] friends, no expectation is left. [The settlement of] sundry matters which were pending he leaves to that dear friend and other dear friends. If God Almighty desires good for all, it will come: for the rest [we must wait and see] what He will do. O Lord, O Lord of my nights!

In the town of Shirwán all my life not a single friend was mine:

Who and where is a friend? Alas! not e'en an acquaintance I saw!

The Husayn of the Age am I, and each worthless foe a Shimr and Yazíd,

My life is a day of mourning, and Shirwán my Kerbelá.

It is not hidden from those dear friends that no expectation remains to this poor unfortunate in the matter of religion. Convey my salutations and prayers at this last moment to my companions and friends and dear ones, and act in such manner that these rules [of conduct], verses and truths, may reach them. Let them be laid away for a few days in some secret corner, and let them be well kept. This is the New Ordinance. Let my son enquire on our part after those who are left and the noble ones. Farewell.”

¹ The use of the expression *jalla sha’nuhu*, ‘glorious in His state,’ after the name of a man, is, of course, rank blasphemy in the eyes of the orthodox, but the Hurufis, who regard Fadlu’llah as an Incarnation of the Deity, habitually place it after his name, generally in the abbreviated form here employed.

This letter, obscure as it is in certain passages, has nevertheless a human and personal note rarely to be found in the misty utterances of the Ḥurúfís. To us it seems strange that in Asia men should have been, nay, and still are, so ready to die for subtleties so intangible and ideas so bizarre as those which constitute the doctrines of the Ḥurúfís and other similar sects, and we are apt to think that some great ethical or eschatological idea must underlie them. But this, in my opinion, is an error; in Asia, especially in Persia, men lay down their lives for a new Avatar and a number fraught with mystical significance, like the numbers 7, 12, 14, or 19, rather than for some social or ethical ideal. In the West religion is chiefly concerned with conduct, but in the East with knowledge.

I. BRITISH MUSEUM.

(1) Or. 5,957 (*Persian and dialect of Astarábád*).

The *Jávidán-i-Kabír* of Faḍlu'lláh the Ḥurúfí (ff. 4^b–481^a), followed by another tract (ff. 481^b–483^b), and (f. 484^b) a short poem explaining why the word ابتدأ is repeated six times at the beginning of the *Jávidán-i-Kabír*. At the end of the volume (ff. 485^a–490^a) is a vocabulary of the dialect words used in the *Jávidán*, containing the explanation of some 770 words, and entitled لغت اس्टرآبادی ("Glossary of the Astarábádí dialect"). Ff. 490 of 22·5 × 12·4 c. Transcribed by the Mu'adhdhin (Mu'ezzin) Darwísh 'Isá b. Kamálu'd-Dín Khwáju in A.H. 1196 (= A.D. 1782). Bought 30, iii, 1901.

(2) Or. 5,957* (*Persian*).

Mistáḥ-i-Ḥurúf-i-Jávidán, a key to the abbreviations and signs employed in the *Jávidán*, of which some 150 are explained. Ff. 3 (ff. 1^b–3^b written on). Acquired with the above MS., within the covers of which it was originally placed.

(3) Or. 5,958 (*Persian*).

A tract with no proper title, described as *رساله فضل حروف* apparently by Faḍlu'llāh, beginning :—

ذات نطق که وجود سی کلمه حضرت فضل حق است ج ۸
مجموع موجود است آنچه

Transcribed by Darwīsh Ḥusayn Alīmad in A.H. 1155 (= A.D. 1742-3).

(4) Or. 5,959 (*Persian*).

The *Ādam-nāma*, transcribed in a fine, bold *ta'lik* hand, by Darwīsh 'Alī-qulī, in Rabi' ii, A.H. 987 (= June, A.D. 1579), and purchased by the Museum 30, iii, 1901. Ff. 289 of 25·3 x 17 c. and 16 lines; rubrications.

(5) Or. 5,960 (*Turkish*).

The '*Ishq-náma* of Firishta-záda ('Abdu'l-Majíd b. Firishta 'Izzu'd-Dín), comprising 32 chapters, preceded by a table of contents (ff. 1^b-2^a), and beginning :—

فِي حَقِيقَةِ اُمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلَى كَرَمِ اللَّهِ وَجْهِهِ وَقَدْ اخْتَصَرَ
الْأَبْوَابَ عَلَى الْاثْنَيْنِ وَالثَّلَاثَيْنِ بَعْدَ اثْنَا وَثَلَاثَيْنِ كَلْمَةً تَامَّةً أَبْيَهَ أَزْيَهَ
وَابْدَيَهَ وَعَلَمَ آدَمَ الْاسْمَاءَ كُلُّهَا

This work was composed in A.H. 833 (= A.D. 1429-30). This copy was completed on Ramadán 20, A.H. 1276 (= April 12, A.D. 1860). Ff. 72 of 23·7 x 15·9 c. and 25 lines.

(6) Or. 5,961 (*Turkish*).

A collection of five Ḥurufí works, dated A.H. 1274 (= A.D. 1857-8), and comprising ff. 117 of 16·2 x 10·5 c. It was bought 30, iii, 1901, and contains :—

(1) *Risála-i-Nuqatu'l-Bayán* (on the "Point of Explanation"), ff. 1-33, beginning :—

قوله تعالى سُرِّيْنَم آیاتنا فِي الْآفَاق وَ فِي أَنفُسِهِم حَتَّى يَتَبَيَّنَ لَهُمْ
اَنَّهُ الْحَقُّ اَى طَالِبٍ بِيَلٍ وَ اَكَاهُ اولَ كَه الخ

(2) *Ākhirat-náma* of Firishta-záda (ff. 34^b-57^a), beginning :—
الحمد لله الخ ' اَمَا بَعْد ' بو فقيير عبد المجيد بن فرشته
عَزَّ الدِّين آخرت نامه بو كتابی تحریر ايلدى

(3) Commentary on a *qaṣida* by Abdál Bábá (ff. 58^b-81^b), beginning :—

بِالْقَوْهِ اِيْدِم اوْلَ سُودَم کَه آشکار اوْلام ' .
تا بن دخى آدم گىى بىرم جهان بابا اوْلام '

(4) Tract by Mithálí (ff. 82^b-86^b), beginning :—

قَبْسَم اللَّهِ التَّرَحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَبِهِ نَسْتَعِينُ ' حَضْرَتْ قَبْ خَدَا
ذَاتِ بَيْ هَمْتَا عَرْشَنَامَهُ النَّبِيِّ وَ تَأْوِيلُ كَلَامِ نَا مَسْتَنَاهِيْسِنَدَهُ کَه جَوَاهِرُ
دُرْ مَكْنُونُ وَ عَلَمُ لَدَنَنُ ' .

اَوْلَ سَبْعَ المَثَانِي اَى حَكِيمٍ ' هَسْتَ بَسْمَ اللَّهِ التَّرَحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ ' .
دِيَوبَ مَنَاسِبَتَلَهُ بَوْ بَيْتِي نَظَمَ بِيورَمَشَلَرَدَرَ بَنَ حَقِيرُ وَ فَقِيرُ پَرْكَنَاهُ
بَنَدَدُ كَمْتَرِينَ فَخْلِيَ اللَّهُ اَعْنَى مَثَالِي خَاكَبَائِ اَهْلُ اللَّهِ الخ

(5) A Turkish poem in 32 *maqálas* and a *tatimma*, beginning :—

سَطَرَ بَسْمَ اللَّهِ التَّرَحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ ' آدَم وَ حَوَّا درَ اَى دِيَوْ رَجِيمُ ' .
يعْنِي بَسْمَ التَّهَدِينِ إِسْتَهَدَهَيِ ' قَبْ حَقِ سَلَطَانِ هَرْ دُو عَالَمِي ' .

In this doctrinal poem, which fills the remainder of the MS., the doctrines of the Ḥurúfís are pretty clearly set forth.

(7) Or. 6,290 (*Turk.-Pers.*).

A fine old copy of the *Díván* of *Nestmí*, transcribed in Ramaḍán, A.H. 974 (= March–April, A.D. 1567), by Darwísh Muṣṭafá Ná-Murád, and purchased 6, xii, 1901. Ff. 17 of 19·8 × 12·2 c., written in a good *ta'líq* and entitled:—

غزلیات نسیمی البغدادی [الملقب بعماد الدين] من اصحاب
فضل فیاض الحروف المقتول بسیف الشرع فی حد سنه هکذا ذکر
فی کشف الظنون ‘

(8) Or. 6,293 (*Persian*).

The '*Arsh-náma*', a *mathnawí* poem of about 1,120 *bayts*, transcribed in Muḥarram, A.H. 1274 (= Aug.–Sept., A.D. 1857), and purchased 6, xii, 1901. Begins:—

بی بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم‘ آدم خاکست ای دیور جیم‘
آدم خاکی که جان عالمست‘ پیش ذات حق وی اسم اعظمست‘

(9) Or. 6,294 (*Turkish*).

The *Díván* of '*Arshi Dedé*', transcribed in Rajab, A.H. 1289 (= Sept., A.D. 1872), by Sayyid Maḥmúd Bábá, and purchased 6, xii, 1901. Ff. 157 of 23 × 14·2 c. and 19 lines. Begins:—

بای بسم الله ایله قرآنہ ایتمد ابتداء‘
قاف و یا و دالی قیلدم حرف واحد ده ادا‘

The copyist further describes himself as:—

ساکن بدرگاه شهید بک قرب رومیلی حصاری حافظ احمد
السعدا‘

(10) Or. 6,295 (*Turk.-Pers.*).

A collection of five tracts, all, apparently, by Shaykh 'Abdu'lláh Ṣaláhí (or Ṣaláḥu'd-Dín), transcribed at Sofia

in Jumáda ii, A.H. 1238 (= Feb.–March, A.D. 1823), purchased 6, xii, 1901, and containing :—

نطق شریف حضرت مصري شرح صلاحی عبد الله افندي (1)

قدس سرہما

This fills ff. 1–32, and begins :—

ایکی قاشگ آرہ سنده چکدی خط استوا ‘

علم الاسمايی تعلیم ایتدی اول خطدن خدا‘

Ends on f. 32^a thus :—

بر زمان مصري لسانندن بو نطقی نظم ایدن ‘

شمدى رمزینى صلاحیدن ینه شرح ايلدى ‘

The copyist's name is given as Ahmád Fá'iz, and the date of transcription as A.H. 1231 (= A.D. 1816).

- (2) A prose tract in Turkish (ff. 33–36), without title.
- (3) A Turkish tract (ff. 37–46) in mixed prose and verse.
- (4) On f. 47^a. The figure of the Ḥurúfi man, entitled :—

نسخه کبرا [نسخه کبری for] در بو ‘

- (5) Shaykh 'Abdu'lláh Sháhí Efendi's commentary (composed in A.H. 1175 = A.D. 1761–2: see f. 83) on a Persian *ghazal* of 11 *bayts* with the *radíf* يافتم by Mawlána Jalálu'd - Dín Rúmí (ff. 48^b–83^a), beginning :—

پیر طریقت سلطان مولانی رومی حضرتler ینٹگ اون بر بیت یافت
غزلنی شیخ عبد الله صلاحی افندي شرح ایتمشدر قدس سرہما العزیز‘
دوش وقت صلحدم در چرخ پایان یافتم ‘

در میان دانه خشخاش سندان یافتم ‘

یک کلاهی داشتم از لبکلبوگم شد زمن ‘

در میان دفتر ملا سلیمان یافتم ‘

Shaykh Saláhu'd-Dín is described as belonging to the Khalwati order of dervishes (من الخلوتية الكاملية).

- (6) A Persian tract (ff. 84^b-103^a) by the above-mentioned Saláhi Efendi on the "Companions of [the Battle of] Badr," entitled:—

رساله فارسي صلاحی افندی در اصحاب بدرا

Begins:—

بنظم اين رساله يا الهى ' مرا بنما طریق راست راهى '

(11) Or. 6,379 (*Persian*).

The *Kurst-náma*, a Persian *mathnawí* poem of about 4,349 *bayts*, beginning:—

ابتدارا بهترین نام خدا ' بود فصلش کرم ازوی ابتدا '

فَاللّهُ أَنْ خَدَا وَنَدِ كَرِيمٌ ' هادئ خَلَدَ از صراطِ مستقیمٍ '

Ff. 199 of 14 x 9·5 c. Transcription completed at the end of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1025 (= Jan. 8, A.D. 1617). Purchased 13, v, 1902.

(12) Or. 6,380 (*Persian*).

A collection of Ḥurúfi tracts, including the *Waṣiyyat-náma*, the *Tahqiq-náma*, the *Bashárat-náma*, and the *Hidáyat-náma*, transcribed (f. 23^b) in A.H. 1004 (= A.D. 1595-6), and purchased 13, v, 1902. Ff. 103 of 17·6 x 12 c. Contents:

- (1) The *Waṣiyyat-náma* (ff. 2^b-23^b). The title occurs on f. 4^a in the following passage:—

خواست که رساله بر سبیل اختصار باسم وصیت نامه و یادگار
از جمعی درویشان صادق و طالبان محقق همدمان محروم و
محروم همدمن موسوم بوصیت نامه کتابت کند '

This tract is divided into sections (فصل), each beginning ای درویش. Colophon on f. 23^b,

giving date of completion as the beginning of Muḥarram, A.H. 1004 (= Sept., A.D. 1595), and name of copyist as Walī.

- (2) On f. 24^a is a short prose passage (8 lines) on what happens to the soul after the destruction of the body, followed by the testament (*Waṣīyyat-nāma*) of Faḍlu'llāh, of which the text and translation are given on pp. 541–2 *supra*.
- (3) F. 25^a. Two versified lists of the Twelve Imāms, of 3 and 9 *bayts* respectively, by Jalālī Bey and Sayyid Nesimī.
- (4) Ff. 25–28. A *qaṣida* of about 125 *bayts*, beginning:—

بفضل باي بسم الله سخن گوئیم که در عبرا (؟) ’

که بي هر دو جهان بود و بُود همچون الٰف يكنا ’

On f. 29^b is another colophon, giving the date Muḥarram, A.H. 999 (= Oct.–Nov., A.D. 1590). This is followed by a poem of 17 *bayts* rhyming in ق, and by a few remarks on prayer, etc.

- (5) The *Basharāt-nāma-i-Ilāhi* (ff. 30^a–62^b), a *mathnawi* poem of about 1,080 *bayts*, composed by one of the *Khalīfas*, or Vicars, of Faḍlu'llāh named Abu'l-Hasan, and beginning:—

دوش در همگام صبحه اوّلین ’ با حريف حوزوش بودم قرین ’

- (6) Ff. 62^b–64^b. A short prose tract, beginning:—

چند کلمه در باب موازین العبارات املا کرده می شود . . . آنچه

- (7) The *Hidayat-nāma* (ff. 64^b–103^b), beginning:—

الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا . . . آنچه بدان ای طالب
عاشق صادق وقتلت الله تعالى ف طلب المعانی والكمالات که
جميع سالکان . . . آنچه

The 'Arsh-náma is cited on ff. 82^b and 92^b, and the Járídán-náma on f. 95^a. Fadlu'lláh is spoken of as "His Holiness the Master of the Interpretation" (حضرت صاحب تأویل).

There is a final colophon on f. 103^b giving the date of transcription of the *Hidáiyat-náma* as Sha'bán, A.H. 1003 (= April - May, A.D. 1595), followed by 3 bayts from the *Mahshá'r-náma-i-Iláhí* of Hadrat-i-'Aliyyi A'lá, one of the *Khalifás* of Fadlu'lláh.

(13) Or. 6,381 (*Persian and dialect*).

A Ḥurúfi tract by Mír Fádilí (ff. 4^b-101^a), beginning:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و بفضلة نستعين ' قوله حى ج د كلام
صاحب كمال كه بيان فت ع و همة اشيا هكرة . . . اکنون
بدانکه این فقیر و حقیرا درین آیت با حرمت که وعده رویت را
ق تمع اول بسی شب کردند'

The colophon (on f. 101^a) is dated A.H. 1163 (= A.D. 1750), and is followed (ff. 101^b *et seqq.*) by a commentary by Hamza Bey, and (ff. 108^a-113^a) by numerous verses from different sources. I have already referred (p. 540 *supra*) to the important series of dates given on f. 2^a of this MS. They are given in figures and also, in the following note, in words:—

ظهور و بروز ق خدا از هجرت حبیب خدام در هفت صد و
هشتاد و هشت شد '
و ولدت او در هفت صد و چهل واقع شد '
و شهادت او در هفت صد نود و شش شد '
ومقتول شدن دجال که مارانشاه است عليه اللعنة در سنت

In a marginal note the last date is "corrected" to A.H. 703, which is an obvious error. Amongst the numerous other notes and verses scribbled on the blank pages of this MS. are the following :—

بپشتدن بش نسنه طشره چیقندی اول آدم و حوا و شیطان و
طاوس و مار، آدمدن مراد روحدر و حوا جسم در و شیطان طبیعت
(f. 1a) در و طاوس شهوتدر و مار غصب در

بیت 'آب در چشمہ خورشید نماند ای عیسیٰ'
خون بدست آرکه با خاک تیمّم گفرست' (f. 2a)
رباعیّات سید اسحق'
سی سال ز بعده رگ از فت خدا'
ناگاه بگوشم آمد از غیب ندا'
که مرده صد سال چه خفتی در خاک'
(f. 2a) بر خیز که هنگام حسابست و جزا'

II. IN MY OWN COLLECTION.

(14) A. 41.

One of five Hurúlí MSS. bought at the sale of the effects of a Bektáshí dervish in May, 1901. Ff. 205 of 15.5 × 10.5 c. Contents :—

(1) *Hikmatu'l-Asrár* (ff. 1^b-6^a), a short tract in Turkish, consisting chiefly of quotations from the Qur'án and the Traditions, and beginning :—

اسلام دیننگ بنیادی بش نسنه اوزره در آنچ

(2) Two quotations of six verses each, apparently from the *Mathnawi* (f. 7^a).

- (3) The *Musajja'*, a short Persian treatise in rhymed prose, of Mawláná Ghiyáth (ff. 7^b-9^a), beginning :—

ای دل رهبر رہ رو و رہ بر روح پرور مطلع انور ساز برابر سجع سراسر مدحت حیدر آخوند

- (4) A *qaṣīda* of 162 *bayts* (ff. 9^a–15^b) by Kamāl b. Ghīyāth, beginning:—

ای دل دانا زبان بکشا و یک دم با خود آ،

اول دفتر مزین کن بتوحید خدا،

This is followed (ff. 15^b-25^b) by other pieces of verse by Sa'dí, 'Attár, Sháh Ni'matu'lláh, etc.

- (5) The *Khuṭbatu'l-Bayān* (Turkish), of which the title and opening words run thus:—

هذا كتاب خطبة البيان أمير المؤمنين حضرت شاه مردان كرم

الله وجده،

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ ' حَمْدٌ لِلَّهِ وَثَنَاءٌ بِيْ عَدَدٌ . . .
 الْخُ' امَّا بَعْدَ حَمْدٌ وَثَنَاءٌ وَالْقَلْوَةُ وَالسَّلَامُ . . . الْخُ' امَّا بَعْدَ'
 اى طالب راه حقیقت اگر بیلمک دیلسن که محقیقا کیمدر اول
 شاه اولیا و وصی مختارا اول ولی مجتبیا اول سرور اصفیا . . . الْخُ'

It comprises seventy *Kalimas*, or sayings of 'Alí b. Abí Ṭalib, each of which is explained and illustrated, and fills ff. 26^b-181^a. The colophon is dated A.H. 983 (= A.D. 1575-6).

- (6) A short tract in Turkish entitled *Irshad-i-Kiswa* (ff. 181^b-183^a), beginning after the doxology :—

اما بعد، بر نچه کلمه تاج و کسوه بیان ادر، امام محمد باقر عز
بورسالیه ارشاد کسود دیو آد وردی،

- (7) Another tract in Turkish by Bábá Qayghúsí (ff. 183^a–185^b), beginning :—

ای عقل کامل بو سوزگ جوهرنہ بر نظر ایله گورنہ بیان ایلر

- (8) Another short tract in Turkish (ff. 185^b–186^a) on 23 things which man must avoid.
- (9) Another short Turkish tract (f. 186^a) on the tradition “He who knows himself hath known his Lord.”
- (10) A Persian tract by Zaynu'd-Dín al-Khwáfi on Shúfi ethics (آداب الصوفیّة), in 19 chapters (ff. 186^b–189^b).
- (11) Another Persian tract (ff. 189^b–192^a) on the dispute between Knowledge (علم), Understanding (عقل), Prosperity (دولت), and Health (عافیت).
- (12) A Persian tract entitled *Mudhaffar-náma-i-Núshtricán*, supposed to have been compiled by Buzurjmíhr for his sovereign (ff. 192^b–196^a).
- (13) An Arabic tract (ff. 197^b–198^b) by a disciple of the saint Jamálu'd-Dín al-Husayn al-Qudsí on the 32 letters contained in the Prophet's titles.
- (14) A Persian tract (ff. 198^b–202^b) in eleven sections, beginning :—

فصل اول در اقسام نفوس و آن چهار است فلکی و حیوانی و نباتی
و طبیعی آنچه

- (15) Two Persian *ghazals* by Rafíqí and a Persian quatrain (ff. 203^a–203^b).
- (16) A note on the genealogy of Sayyid ‘Imádu'd-Dín Nesímí in Turkish (ff. 203^b–204^b). He is said to have taken his *takhallus* from a district called Nesím near Baghdad, and to have been originally a follower of Shaykh Shíblí, but afterwards of Faḍlu'lláh the Hurúfí, one of whose Vicars (*Khulásá*) he became.
- (17) A few of the *qit'as* of Ibn Yamín (f. 205). Here the MS. breaks off abruptly. It contains, as will be seen, little that is essentially Hurúfí, but rather such

mixture of Ṣúfi and Shí'ite treatises as would be suitable to the Bektáshí neophyte, though the notice of Nesímí indicates sympathy with the Ḥurúfís.

(15) A. 42 (*Turkish*).

Another of the five MSS. bought at the Bektáshí sale in May, 1901. Ff. 88 of 17·4 × 12·1 c. Contents:—

- (1) *Bayán-i-Aḥwál-i-Ḥashr wa Amr-i-Ma'ād* (ff. 1^b-4^b) on the Resurrection, beginning:—

هذا بيان احوال حشر وامر معادى بيلدير،

ایمدى معلوم اولديكه بزم کندو ذوقمذده احوال حشر و امر
معادين تمثيلي اولديركه جمیع مشکللر انسانه معلوم اوله ديرت
مرتبه اوزرینه دير آنخ

- (2) *Risála-i-İhlül u İttihád-i-bi-hál* (ff. 4^b-8^a) on Incarnation and Union, beginning:—

سيد شرييف قدس سره حاشية تخبر يدده بيان ايلديگي بحشى
قطمير نقل اندوب دير كه آنخ

- (3) The *Ākhirat-náma* of Firishta-zádu (ff. 8^b-15^b), beginning:—

الحمد لله رب العالمين والعقاب للمتقين ولا عدوان على
الظالمين وصلى الله على مظهر الذات محمد وآلها اجمعين،
اما بعد، بو فقير عبد المجيد ابن فرشته اصلاح الله شأنه وصانه عما
شانه آنخ

- (4) The *Kitáb-i-Nuqṭatu'l-Bayán* by Shaykh-zádu (ff. 19^b et seqq.), beginning:—

قال اللہ تعالیٰ آیة سُئِرِیْمَ آیاٰتِیَا فِی الْآفَاقِ وَ فِی أَنْفُسِیْمَ حَتَّیٰ
يَعْلَمَنَ ابْنَمْ أَنَّهُ الْحَقُّ، ای طالب بیل و آگاه اولکه آفاقتہ نشانلر
وارد بیر الحَنَفَ

It comprises 22 sections (فصل), and is dated Friday, 15 Jumāda i, A.H. 1282 (= Oct. 6, A.D. 1865). The scribe, As'ad, calls himself "the least of the servants of the Family of the Cloak [i.e. the Prophet, his daughter Fátima, her husband 'Alí, and their two sons al-Hasan and al-Husayn] and the servant of Mahmúd Bábá" [who was no doubt the Tír, or Elder, of the *tekyé* to which he belonged].

- (5) F. 79^a. A Turkish quatrain and two *bayts*, one in Turkish and one in Persian.
- (6) Fl. 79^b-80^a. A short Turkish tract on the secrets of the virtues of the letters, and the knowledge of the numbers belonging to the letters.
- (7) A short Turkish tract on the true nature of man (f. 81^a). The remaining pages (ff. 81^b-88^b) are blank.

(16) A. 43 (*Turkish*).

A collection of Ḥurúfi poems and treatises, containing ff. 134 of 17·5 × 12·2 c., bought in September, 1901, and containing:—

- (1) A *qasida* of Shuhúdí (fl. 1^b-3^b), beginning:—

غرض ایجاد عالمدن ظپور ذات داور در
حجب معنی نازکدر که عقل آنده مقصودر

It contains 71 verses, and ends:—

شبودی او توز ایکی حرفاً اسرارینه ایردگسہ
امین او ادگ صوسزاق زحمتند آب کوثردر

This is followed by other Hurúfi poems (ff. 3^b–11^a) by Shuhúdí, Surúrí, Khalílí, and Nesímí, in Turkish, and by one Persian *bayt* by Na'ímí, and two Arabic *bayts* ascribed to 'Alí.

- (2) The *Bashárat-náma* of Rafí'i (ff. 11^b–54^a), beginning:—

قال النبي صلعم فانحة الكتاب سبع آيات
اول سبع المثاني اي حكيم ' گلدى بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم '

The poem comprises some 1,440 verses, and ends:—

بودعاي مستجاب ايت يا محب ' چيل اظهار ايت پديدار حبيب '

The characteristic Hurúfi symbols for the numbers 28 and 32 are of constant occurrence, and are always substituted in the poem for the Turkish equivalents of these numbers, *yigirmi sekiz* and *otuz iki*.

- (3) The *Tuhfá* of Shuhúdí, a Turkish *mathnawi* poem (ff. 55^b–76^a), beginning:—

ابتدا فضل عظيم لا ينام ' حمد لله گلدى مفتاح كلام '

F. 76^b is blank. On f. 77^a is inscribed a *bayt* from the *Kurşî-náma* and a reported saying of 'Alí in respect to the different classes of those who know God.

- (4) A Turkish treatise (ff. 77^b–80^b) without title, beginning:—

ولبشا في كهفهم ثلث مائة و آزادادوا تسعما يعني اگلنديلر اصحاب
كهف مغاره لرى ايچينده اوچيوز ييل دخى طقوز ييل عبارتدر سئه
ايتامدن كه اوچيوز بىشك ييل اوپور آنخ

- (5) Another short piece (ff. 80^a–81^a), beginning:—

قال الشیخ ابو الحسن هذا استمع من صاحب التأویل اسرار جهر
واخفا صلات این طغاء دو ابرو و چهار مژه و موی سر منشق بخط
استوا آنخ

- (6) A tract in Persian (ff. 81^a-88^b) without title, beginning :—

الحمد لله الذي هدانا لبذا وما كنا لنفهم لو لا هدانا الله، بنام
قديم لا يزال آخن

- (7) The *Hidayat-náma*, in Turkish, with Persian preface, by Firishta-záda (ff. 89^b-112^b), beginning :—

بنام قديم لا يزال و عليم متعال . . . الخ، اما بعد، باعث
اين تحرير و سبب ايمن تقرير آن بود که ياران همدم و همدءان
• حرم طالبان تحقیق دینی و صادقان مساتحی یقینی ازین تفسیر
داعی بنده فضل یزدانی عبدالمجید ابن فرشته عز الدین اصلاح الله
شأنه التراس کردند که . . . الخ

The title is given on f. 90^a, l. 14, and the date of composition (on the same page) as Rabi' i, A.H. 830 (= Jan., A.D. 1427). Persian verses by Faḍlu'lláh (صاحب تأویل) occur on ff. 96^a, 111^b, 112^a-112^b.

- (8) A Turkish poem of 42 *bayts* (ff. 113^b-114^b), by Darwîsh Alwán, entitled *Dast-náma*, beginning :—

ایشتکیم نظمله بر سوز دیم خوش ،
اگر عاقل ایشگ جان ایله ایت گوش ،

- (9) The *Ganj-náma*, a Turkish *mathnawî* poem (ff. 115^a-120^a) by Rafí'i, beginning :—

ای گنج نهان بی بدایت ، وی بحر محیط بی نهایت ،

- (10) The *Shahriyár-náma* (ff. 121^b-131^a), a Turkish *mathnawî* poem by Panáhí, beginning :—

ابتدا در ابتدادر ابتدادا ، ابتدادن حاصل اولدی انتها ،

ابتدا گلادی کلام لا ینام ، فی و خاد و لام حقدن و السلام ،

It was composed, according to the concluding verses (f. 131^a), in A.H. 860 (= A.D. 1456) :—

دیر ۸۰۰ ییل ۱۰ ییل ایدی ، بو تمام اولمقلغه تحویل ایدی
نطی حقدن اولدی بو سوزلر تمام ، ایلرکده آدیدر مساه صیام ،

The remaining leaves (ff. 131^b-134) are blank.

(17) A. 49 (*Turkish*: printed).

The *Kâshîfu'l-Asrâr wa Dâfi'u'l-Ashrár* of Isháq Efendi, discussed in the earlier portion of this article, a Refutation of the Bektâshîs and Hurûfîs in three chapters, published in A.H. 1291 (= A.D. 1874-5). Pp. 174 of 15·7 x 11·5. Begins, after the brief doxology :—

وَبَعْدَ، مَعْلُومٌ أَوْلَهُ كَمَا هُوَ أَهْلُ إِسْلَامٍ اضْلَالِيَّهُ مُشْغُولٌ أَوْلَانْ
طَوَافَقَكَ أَشْ باشلوچه سی طائفة بكتاشیان اولوب آخ

(18) A. 69 (*Turkish*).

Lithographed edition of the '*Ishq-nâma* (here called '*Âshiq-nâma-i-Ilâhi*) of 'Abdu'l-Majid b. Firishta (or "Firishta-zâda") 'Izzu'd-Dîn, which is professedly a translation into Turkish of the *Jâridân-nâma*, and was made (p. 3, ll. 2-3) in Shawwâl, A.H. 833 (= June-July, A.D. 1430). It is divided into 32 chapters, of which the contents are stated on pp. 5-7, and begins :—

الحمد لله رب العالمين ، والصلوة والسلام على رسولنا محمد
وآله وصحبه أجمعين ، والعاقبة للمتقين ، والعدوان على الشياطين ،
آقا بعد ، بو حقير فرشته زاده عبد المجيد عز الدين اصلاح الله شأنه
ایدرکه . . . آخ

Pp. 164 of 20 x 13·5 c. There is no date or place of publication, but this is probably the edition referred to in the *Kâshîfu'l-Asrâr* (see p. 536 *supra*) as having been published in A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871-2).

It is followed by another treatise, with separate pagination (pp. 19), entitled *Kamál-náma-i-Ál-i-'Abá*, beginning :—

خَسْنَ حَمْدَ زَكِيٍّ نَامَعُودُ وَحُسَيْنٌ ثَنَى وَفِي نَا مَحْدُودٌ اولَه

الْخَ . . .

(19) B. 15 (*Turkish*).

Ff. 90 of 22·2 x 13·2 c. One of seven MSS. bought in September, 1901, containing :—

- (1) The *Miftáḥ*, or key to the contractions occurring in the *Hurúfi* writings, of which some 150 are given (ff. 2^b-3^b). This is probably "the tract entitled *Miftáḥu'l-Hayát* ('The Key of Life')" referred to in the *Káshifu'l-Asrár*. See p. 537 *supra*.
- (2) *Sirru'l-Mufradát* ("The Secret of the single [Letters]": ff. 4^a-5^b). This describes a form of *abjad* in which the numerical values of the letters differ from those ordinarily assigned: e.g., ح = 1 (i.e. ।) instead of 8; ط = 2 (i.e. ب) instead of 9, up to ن = 7 (i.e. j) instead of 50; س again = 1 (i.e. ।) instead of 60; ع = 2 (i.e. ب) instead of 70, up to ش, which again = 7. In other words, the first seven letters of the *abjad* (ابجید هوز) are discarded, or keep their original values of 1-7, and the remaining 21 fall into 3 groups of 7 each, the letters in each group indicating the numbers 1 to 7. Begins :—

يَخْشَى نَظَرَ اِيَّدِهِ سَنَ كَهْ قَانُونَ نِيجَهْ صَبَطَ . . . الْخَ

- (3) The '*Ishq-náma* of Firishta-záda (ff. 5^b-85^b), lacking the Preface which precedes the Table of Contents in the lithographed edition, and beginning with the latter, which agrees with the lithograph. On the other hand, in this MS. a different Preface, lacking in the lithograph, is interpolated between the Table of Contents and Chapter i. This begins, after the short doxology :—

اًمَّا بَعْدُ، حَسْرَتْ احْدِيَّتَهْ حَمْدَ اِيْتَدَكْدَنْ صَكْرَهْ وَرَسُولْ حَسْرَتَهْ
سَلَامَ اِيْتَدَكْدَنْ صَكْرَهْ مَعْلُومَ وَمَفْهُومَ اُولَئِكَهْ كَهْ بُو عَلَمَ لَدَنَيَّهْ الْهَيِّ فَارَسِي
لَسَانِي اوْزَرِينَهْ اِيدِي

The author's name, title of the work, and date of composition stand here (f. 6^b) as in the lithograph, but the two texts, though probably representing two different recensions, appear in the main to correspond.

(20) C. 6 (*Turkish*).

The *Diván* of 'Arshî, a Turkish Hurúfi poet, bought 22, v, 1901. Ff. 90 of 22·7 x 14·4 c. Not dated. Begins:—

بَا بَسْمِ اللَّهِ اِيْلَهِ قَرَانَدِ اِيْتَدَمِ اَبْتَدَا،
قَافِ وِيَا وَدَالِي قَيْلَدَمِ حَرْفَ وَاحِدَ دَدَ اَداً،

(21) C. 7 (*Turkish*).

The *Diván* of another Turkish poet named Muhiyyu'd-Dín Abdál, bought 22, v, 1901, beginning:—

بَزْدَهْ بَلْدِيْگُمْزِيْ سَوْلِيلِيمْ، دَكْلِيَّانَهْ عَلَى مَدْحَنِ اِيلِيلِيمْ،
عَلَى دَرِّهْؤَمْنَلَرْكِ رَهْبَرِيْ، عَلِيَّدِرِ مَصْطَفِيِّ نَشْ سَوْدَكَلَرِيْ،

Ff. 40 of 22 x 16·3 c. Copied by Luťfi, A.H. 1271
(= A.D. 1854-5).

(22) C. 8 (*Turkish*).

Another of the five MSS. bought at the Bektáshí sale in May, 1901, containing ff. 1^a-30^a in 32 chapters, and containing:—

(1) A Turkish *mathnawî* poem (ff. 1^a-30^a) in 32 chapters, by *Turâbî*, containing about 1100 couplets, and beginning:—

بَا بَسْمِ اللَّهِ گَلِ دَكْلَهِ عِيَانِ، شَاهِ سَرْدَانِ سَرْتَیِ درِ بُو گَلِ اِينَانِ،

and ending :—

بو ترابى جوشوب جان و دلى ، سويلىن سن سويلىن سن يا على ،

(2) (*Kayfiyyat-i-Khilqat Risâlati* (ff. 33^b–38^b), a tract in Turkish on the manner of Creation, beginning :—

ما خلق الله تعالى آدم ستين لوناً من التراب خلق نور محمد
ما خلق في السموات والأرض وما خلق جبرائيل ميكائيل
اسرافيل عزرايل آخن

(3) Life of Hâjji Bektâsh and the *Wilâyat-nâma* of Hâjî Sultân (ff. 38^b–72^a); the latter filling only 2 pages (ff. 71^b–72^a), entitled :—

هذا مناقب حضرت خنكار حاجى بكتاش ولی ولايت نامه
حاجم سلطان حضرتلرى قدس الله ارواحهم اجمعين ،

The *Manâqib* begins :—

الحمد لله . . . آخن ، اما بعد بلگل كم حق سبحانه و تعالى
خلقى يراتمقدن مراد او لدركه علم معرفت عبادة ايکى جهانده آخن

The *Wilâyat-nâma* begins :—

بارك الله فيكم طيب الله انفاسكم و رضى الله عنكم و عن
والديكم و عن استاذيكم و عن كافة المسلمين اجمعين حاظرين (sic)
غائبين برحمتك يا ارحم الراحمين بارك الله اعزكم الله
اوقيانلر ايچون دىكليانلر ايچون آخن

(4) The *Âkhirat-nâma* of Firishta-zâda (ff. 73^b–76^b), beginning :—

الحمد لله . . . آخن ، اما بعد ، بو فقير عبد المجيد [بن]
فرشته عز الدين آخن

- (5) A treatise on the Letters (ff. 76^b-90^b), beginning :—
 آب ت ث ح خ الى آخره پاچاراً کا و علم آدم الاسماء كلها الخ
- (6) The remainder of the volume (ff. 91^a-104^a) contains scraps of Turkish poetry, *gulbângs*, prayers, and (ff. 94^b-95^a) an account of the affiliation of Hâjji Bektaş and of the spread of his Order, entitled :—
 در بیان سلسلة حضرت خنکار حاجی بکتاش ولی قدس الله سرہ العالی and طریق سرایتی

(23) C. 9 (*Turkish*).

Another collection of Hurûfî tracts, containing ff. 79 of 22.8 x 15.3 c. Bought 22, v, 1901. Contents :—

- (1) Tract without title (ff. 1^b-17^a), beginning :—
 الحمد لله الذي هدا (sic) لهذا وما كثنا نهتدى لولا ان هدانا الله . . . اما بعد، بلکث کلام الهی و نطق رباني و كتاب آسماني ايچنده و احادیث نبویه ده گوردم که . . . الخ

- (2) The *Faqr-nâma* of Vîráni Dedé (ff. 17^a-51^b), beginning :
 الحمد لله رب العالمين، ايمدى اى طالب فضل حق الحمد لله بن مراد تنگری آلمقدرو تنگری آلمقدون مراد الخ

The colophon is dated Shawwâl, A.H. 1059 (= Oct., A.D. 1649).

- (3) The *Fayyâl-nâma* (ff. 51^b-76^a), a Turkish *mathnawî* poem, beginning :—

سطر بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، آدم و حوا در اى دیور جیسم،
 يعني بسم الله الیه ایسته آدمی، فضل حق سلطان هر دو عالمی،

In the colophon (f. 76^a), which is dated the end of Shawwâl, A.H. 1059 (= Nov. 5, A.D. 1649), it is called :—

التّسالّة الفيضيّة القدسيّة الموسومة بغيض نامه،

(4) The *Tirâsh-nâma* (ff. 76^a-77^a), beginning :—

اَوْلَى بِالْبَاسِينِ آلُورْكَنْ بُونَى اوْقِيَه وَ إِذَا شِئْنَا بَدَلْنَا اُمَّثَالَهُمْ تَبَدِيلَهُ

(24) C. 10 (*Turkish*).

'Uyûnu'l-Hidâyat, a Turkish *Hurûfî* prose treatise with Arabic Preface, beginning :—

الحمد لله الذي جعلنا من امة حبيبه و خليله محمد المصطفى ان

This Preface (ff. 1^b-3^b) is chiefly in praise of the Twelve Imâms. The Turkish text begins :—

رَاقِمْ تسويدات المَتَانِ صَحَافَ عَمِيَانِ كَرِيدِيْ رَسْمِيْ بَكْتَاشِيْ
نَاتَوْنَ بُو طَرْزِيْلَه تَحْقِيقَ بِيَانِ حَالِه وَ بُو نَجْمَلَه شَرْحَ مَا فِي الْبَالِ
اِيدِرْكَه . . . ان

It thus appears that the author was a *Bektâshî* named Kiridî Rasmî, or Rasmî of Crete. Ff. 82 of 22·8 x 15·6 c. and 15 lines. The colophon, which is undated, runs :—

كتبه الفقير الحسين من بنده محمود بباب الحصار، ومنه هو

(25) C. 11 (*Turkish*).

The *Fâdilat-nâma*, a long Turkish *mathnawi* poem in the apocopated hexameter *hazâj* metre, beginning :—

اَرْلَ يَادِ اِيدِه لِيمْ حَتِّ وَ قَدِيمَيْ ' دِي بَسْمِ اللَّهِ التَّرْحَمِنِ التَّرْحِيمِيِّ

It appears to treat chiefly of the virtues of 'Alî b. Abî Tâlib, as stated in the following line in the Introduction (آغاڑ کلام), f. 5^a :—

فَضْلِتْ نَامَه سَدَنْ مَرْتَضَانَشَ ' بِيَانِ عَجَزَ دَنْ مَصْطَفَى نَشَ ' ' خَبَرْ صُورَدِينْ رَوَايَاتِ عَلِيَّدِينْ ' بِيَانِ اِيلَه دِيدِيَگَشْ فَضْلَ وَلِيدَنْ '

A superficial examination reveals little that is characteristically *Hurûfî*, the general tone of the poem being *Shî'ite*.

Bought 7, v, 1903. Ff. 262 of 20 × 14 c. The *Fadilat-náma* ends on f. 247, and the remaining pages of the volume are inscribed with various short poems by Nesímí, Sarmad, Asrár Dedé, etc.

(26) C. 12.

Risála-i-Dil u Dáná, a long Turkish *mathnáwi* poem in which *ghazals* are intermingled, by Shaykh Ibráhím Efendi al-Oghlání al-Aq-sará'í, beginning :—

الله علمنه يوق حد وغایت ، خدایا وصفه يوق هیچ نهایت ،

This is followed by *ghazals* and other poems in which the author uses his name, Ibráhím, as his *takhallus*, while in others the *takhallus* Khidr occurs. The MS. is one of the five bought at the Bektáshí sale in Constantinople in May, 1901.

Ff. 116 of 23·3 × 17 and 19 lines. Good Turkish *naskh*. The colophon is dated A.H. 1285 (= A.D. 1868–9), and runs as follows :—

حرر العقير سيد اسعد الشعفاء چاکر آل عبا عن بنده حضرت
سید محمد بابا سجاده نشين بدرگاه شريف شهيد لک دلکشا در
روم ايلى حصارى بالآ قدس الله اسرارهم و نفعنا الله بانوارهم
اجمعين في ١٢٨٥ زسته

In this MS. also I have observed nothing distinctively Hurúfi.

III. IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS.

(27) ANCIEN FONDS PERSAN, 24.

For full description of this MS., which was acquired 24, vi, 1873, see the *J.R.A.S.* for Jan., 1898, pp. 63–64. Contents :—

- (1) The *Istirâ-nâma* (ff. 1^b-59^b) of Amîr Abû'l-Yaqîn Ghîyâthu'd-Dîn Muhammâd b. Husayn b. Muhammâd al-Husaynî al-Astarâbâdî, who mentions (f. 9^a) Rainâdân 12, A.H. 846 (= Jan. 14, A.D. 1443), as the date of his conversion. The colophon is dated A.H. 970 (= A.D. 1562-3), and is preceded by the two following quatrains:—

اینست کتاب استوانامه بنام،
اعلام کند بهشت و دوزخ بتمام،
هر کس که بخواند این کتاب از سر صدق،
داند همه ارواح کجا کرد مقام،
هر کو بکتاب استوانامه رسید،
از فضل بسر نامه خامه رسید،
در یافت بهشت و روز حشر را بیقین،
با معرفت مکمل نام (ه) رسید،

- (2) A Persian Hurûfî *mathnâ'i* poem (ff. 62^b-80^b) on Alexander's quest for the Water of Life, beginning:

ابدا کردم بنام ذوالجلال، حی و قیوم و قدیم بی زوال،

On the preceding page (f. 62^a) is scribbled a poem by Khayâlî.

- (3) The glossary of the dialect words in the *Jâvidân-i-Kâbir* (ff. 62^b-80^b), beginning:—

اوی اوی آون آمی آمیند آمسن آویته
آنست آورد آوردن آمد آمدند آمدند آویخته

(28) SUPPLÉMENT PERSAN, 107 (Persian).

A Hurûfî work which, for reasons stated on p. 65 *ad calc.* in the *J.R.A.S.* for January, 1898, I believe to be the

Mahabbat-náma-i-Iláhí. For further description see the article above-mentioned, pp. 64–66. Ff. 139. Dated A.H. 895 (= A.D. 1489–90). Copyist, Darwísh Ahmad.

IV. CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

(29) Or. 40 (*Turkish*).

The *Diwan* of 'Arshí, beginning :—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ أَيْلَهِ قُرْآنَهُ أَيْتَدُمْ ابْتَدَا

قَافْ وَيَا وَدَالِي قَيْلَدِمْ حَرْفَ وَاحِدَدَهُ ادا'

Ff. 128 of 23 = 16·6 c. and 17 lines. Good plain Turkish *naskh*, within red lines. Bought 5, ii, 1901. Copyist, Sayyid 'Alí Ridá, who describes himself as "dust at the feet of the Family of the Cloak" (see p. 555 *supra*)—خاکپای آل عبا. Some of the poems are in Persian. At the end of the volume (f. 128) is a short biographical notice of the poet. He belonged to Yeñi Bázár in Rumelia, and his proper name was Mahmúd. He originally took the *takhallus* of Chákí (چاکی), which he afterwards changed to 'Arshí (عرشی), because, as he says :—

عَلَّغُلٌ شِعْرٌ مِنْ بَعْرَشِ رَسِيدٍ ' زَان سَبَبَ شَدَّ تَخَلَّصَ عَرْشِي '

He appears to have lived about A.H. 964 (= A.D. 1556–7).

(30) Or. 41 (*Turkish*).

The *Wiláyat-náma* of Házzi Bektaş :—

هَذَا وَلَيْتَ نَامَةً قَطْبِ عَالَمٍ خُثَّكَارٌ حاجى بِكَناش ولی قدس سرہ العزیز '

Ff. 132 of 24·3 × 16·8 c. and 17 lines. Poor Turkish *nasta'líq*. Dated 24 Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1274 (= 7 July, A.D. 1858). Bought 5, ii, 1901. The contents are given (ff. 1^b–2^a) as follows :—

(فهرست) حاجی بکناش ولی نگ نسبی (حاجی بکناش بن سید محمد بن موسی ثانی بن ابراهیم المجاپ بن علی [بن] موسی الرضا آنخ) و مولودی ' - معلمہ ویرکلری ' - خنکار اسمنی ویرکلری ' - حاجی دیندیگی ' - خراسان ارنلرینه نشان گوستردیگی ' - سوام بیراغی اوزرنده نماز قیلدقلری ' - اوصاف حمیده لری ' - احمد یسوی نگ اوصاف حمیده لری ' - قبّة الـ و تاج و خرقه و چراغ و علم و سجاده ' - احمد یسوی قطب الدین حیدری بدخشانه ارسالی حاجی بکناش ولی واروب گتوردیگی ' - * احمد یسوی حضورینه ایرشدیگی ' - بدخشان ملکنی فتحه ایتدیکی ' - داریجه اوزرنده نماز قیلدیغی ' - * خواجه احمد یسوی اذنیله روهه گلـدیگی ' - روم ارنلرینه سلام ویردیگی ' - ولی امریبه نشان گوستردیگی ابرهـیم حاجبه نظر ایتدیگی ' - خضرایله ملاقی و بوستانجی یه نظر ایتدیگی اورکوب ولایتنده گوستردیگی رمز ' - سویجه قریوتگ قراری ' - اشارت ایله دیوار طوغرلـدیغی ' - گوستردیگی ولایتی ' - نور الدین خواجه یه گوستردیگی ولایت ' - بش طاش طانقلق ویردیگی ' - زمهزیره الما صاری یه گوستردیگی رمز ' - بر فقیه امامستی ' - خمیر قیاده رمز گوستروب طاش کسدیگی ' - ولایتلرندن بری ' - گندم و مترجمکی طاش ایلدیگی ' - امرجمه سلطان ایله رمزی ' - اشارتلد قزلجه خلوت یا پلـدیغی ' - خضر نسبی ایله ملاقی اولدیغی ' - غائب ارنلرینه ملاقی اولدیغی ' - صاری اسماعیلی قونیه یه ملا خنکاره

* The sections indicated between the asterisks, as well as the end of the tract, from f. 116^b onwards, are in verse, the remainder in prose.

گوندردیگی در' - بر جوبانی الیله فرنگستانه آتسدیغی در' - قدیمچق انایه ولایت گوستردیگی' - قدیمچق انایه نفس ایدوب اولادی اوتدیغی' - کوانچ ابدالله سؤال ایتدیگی رهـزی' - دریا اوزرنده گمی خلاص' - قدرینه صنا نظر ایتدیگی' - سید غازی زیارتی' - گوستردیگی رهـزلر' - سید محمد خیران ارسلانه بنوب کلديگي' - یونس امرهـبی طبـدیق امرهـبی ارسـالی' - آنـج

From f. 115^b to the end is in verse, and also, as already mentioned, ff. 15^a-30^b. The biography ends with Hájji Bektaşî's appointment of five Khalîfas, or Vicars; his testamentary instructions to Sârî Isma'il; his death, and the miracles performed after it; and his burial. The text begins:—

شکر و سپاس بی غایه و حمد [و] ثنا، لانهـیه اول واحد فرد یکتا و روف عظیم بی همتا آفریدـکار عالمـیانه اول پادشاهـه اولـسوـنـکـه آنـج

(31) Or. 42 (*Turkish*).

رسالة في خواص المفردات العجيبة لدرويش بابا اويس

Risâla fi Khawâssi'l-Mufradât 'ajiba, a treatise on the virtues of the letters, etc., in four chapters, by Darwîsh Bâbâ Uways. Ff. 35 of 14·4 x 9·9 c. and 11 lines; written in good *naskh* with rubrications, and dated A.H. 952 (= A.D. 1545-6). Bought 5, ii, 1901. The author is described as "one of the disciples (*abdâl*) of Sultân Sayyid-i-Ghâzî." The text begins:—

الحمد لله المعلم (io) الاسرار والمطلع شمس علمه اللذى
فـ قـلـوبـ اـنبـيـائـهـ آـنـجـ

The characteristic Hurûfi signs for 28, 32, etc., occur throughout.

(32) Or. 43 (*Persian*).

A collection of *Hurúfi* tracts, bought 5, ii, 1901, and containing ff. 112 of 15 x 10 c. On f. 1 is given a list of the abbreviations used by the *Hurúfis*. The other contents are as follows:—

- (1) The *Shiráb-náma* of Sayyid Isháq, a contemporary of Fadlu'lláh (ff. 2^b-31^b), composed in A.H. 814 (= A.D. 1411-12). Transcription ended on Dhu'l-Qa'da 2, A.H. 1018 (= Jan. 27, A.D. 1610), in the village of 'Ayn Malik in Kurdistán. Scribe, Shujá' Dedé. At the end stand the words: بعون فَ الله الوهاب . Begins:—

بنام عاشق اول و مُحِبٌ ازل که بنظر جمیل نگران جمال و بدیده
تفصیل حیران اجمال الخ

- (2) The *Wildáyat-náma* (ff. 32^b-58^a), composed in Rajab, A.H. 1030 (= May-June, A.D. 1621), beginning:—

شکر و سپاس و حمد بی قیاس بانی عالم ناس را که بوهم و قیاس
و تفرقه و سواس پیرامن سرادقات دو صدات او نتوان گشت الخ

- (3) Another tract, anonymous and untitled (ff. 58^b-66^a), beginning:—

شکر و سپاس حـ خالقی را که از فواتح کلام تفرقه صوری و معنوی
مارا در سلک نظام کشید الخ

- (4) The *Zubdatu'n-Naját* (ff. 66^b-69^b), beginning (after the doxology):—

بدان ای طالب عراط مستقیم و جوینده راه هجات و رستکاری الخ

- (5) A titleless and anonymous tract which seems to be the *Tahqiq-náma* (ff. 70^b-86^a), containing 4 *tahqiqs*, and beginning:—

شکر و سپاس و حمد بی قیاس ح احمد قدیمی راج ڈ که قبّۃ
خاک و قطرہ آب الخ

- (6) Two portions of a Turkish commentary (entitled *Sharḥ-i-Javídí*) on the *Járidán-náma* (ff. 88^a-109^a) by "Hájjí Efendi," and (ff. 110^b-112^b) some other writings, including a discussion of the question why the word ابتدأ is repeated six times at the beginning of the *Járidán-náma*.

(33) Or. 44 (*Turkish*).

The '*Ishq-náma*' of 'Abdu'l-Majíd b. Firishta 'Izzu'd-Dín (Firishta-záda), composed in A.H. 833 (= A.D. 1430). Ff. 133 of 18·9 × 10·8 c. and 13 lines. Good, clear naskh with rubrications; dated the end of Jumáda ii, A.H. 996 (=May 26, A.D. 1588); bought 5, ii, 1901. The arrangement of the prefatory matter differs from the lithographed edition described above (p. 558 *supra*), but agrees with it in the number, order, and contents of the chapters. Begins after table of contents and doxology:—

حضرت احادیثه حمد ایتمکدن صکرہ [و] رسول حضرتینه صلوٰۃ
سلام ایتمکدن صکرہ معلوم و مفہوم اولدی که بو علم لدنہ الہیہ
فارسی لسانی اوزرینه ایدی بعد از آن بو روم ملکنده الخ

The contents of the 32 chapters is given as follows:—

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| باب ۱ فی العشق والمحبة' | باب ۲ فی معرفة لوا الحمد' |
| باب ۳ فی حقيقة الترحمه' | باب ۴ میراث الأرض' |
| باب ۵ فی كيفية ألسنت بریشم قالوا بدی' | باب ۶ فی المراج' |
| باب ۷ اسرار کلمة الله' | باب ۸ فی قدم القرآن' |
| باب ۹ خلق السموات والأرض فی ستة أيام' | |
| باب ۱۰ فی حقيقة السکر و آلتقوی' | |

- باب ۱۱ فی دابه الأرض '،
 باب ۱۲ فی اسرار الحجج والاحرام و حجر الاسود وغيرها '،
 باب ۱۳ فی كيفية أمة مُسْتَطَى '، باب ۱۴ فی حقيقة صلوة المؤسٹى '،
 باب ۱۵ فی حقيقة لا تقرّبها هذه الشجرة '،
 باب ۱۶ فی تعظيم بيت العتيق وسفينة نوح وغيرها '،
 باب ۱۷ فی حقيقة بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم '،
 باب ۱۸ فی حقيقة الامانة '،
 باب ۱۹ فی سر الحجج والعمراء وغيرها '، باب ۲۰ فی حقيقة كشف الساق '،
 باب ۲۱ فی حقيقة الحروف '، باب ۲۲ فی السجدة على الساق '،
 باب ۲۳ فی سر طلوع الشمس من مغربها '، باب ۲۴ فی كيفية المهدى '،
 باب ۲۵ فی زمان المهدى '،
 باب ۲۶ فی حقيقة اليوم الذي يخرج المهدى '،
 باب ۲۷ فی قول المسيح من الحواريين '، باب ۲۸ فی حقيقة كنز الكعبة '،
 باب ۲۹ فی احاطة الاسم الاعظم '، باب ۳۰ فی رؤية الله '،
 باب ۳۱ فی رحم حوا '، باب ۳۲ فی حقيقة امير المؤمنين على '،

In the course of the book the author represents it as essentially a Turkish version of the *Járidán-náma* in the following words:—

معلوم و مفبوم اولدى كه بو علم لدنء الهيء فارسي لسانى او زرينه
 ايدي بعد از آن بو روم مملكتى نده فارسي لسانى بلنلر قليمى در بعض
 الاخوان اهل مشريدين . . . شویله تمى ايتدىلر كه بو علم
 لدنء الهيء كه علم تأوييلدر تركى لسانته گله '،

(34) OR. 45 (*Turkish*).

The *Sa'ádat-náma*, composed by one of the disciples of Mawláná Báyazid (the title is mentioned on f. 2^a, l. 6 of the text). Ff. 42 of 18·6 x 10·9 c. and 13 lines. Dated Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 995 (= Nov., A.D. 1587). Bought 5, ii, 1901. The following explanation of the genesis of this book occurs near the beginning, immediately after the Doxology, which closely agrees with that of the '*Ishq-náma*':—

معلوم و مفهوم اولدى که بو علم علم الهى در و دخى ابداندر که
مؤذى اولر علم اديان که العلم علمان علم آلبدان و علم آلانيان
من عرف نفسه علم الابداندر فقد عرف ربہ علم اديان در صدره بو
علم الهیه فضليه (فصيله MS) فارسي دلماجه ايدي که بو بندہ فتاغه
بو علم الهی که ايرشدی مولانا ابا يزيد حضرتلرندن ايرشدی سلمه
الله ف الدارين بو بندہ فضل فتاغه پیير و مرشد اولوب تقليدات
ظلمائيي جهلييەدن خلاص ايلىدى . . . بو علم الهیه فضليه
(فصيله MS) فارسي دلنلن ترکى دلننه ترجمه قلدی '

(35) OR. 62 (*Persian*).

A Persian Hurúfi *qaṣida* by Sayyid-i-Sharíf, with Persian prose commentary by the author, entitled:—

هذا شرح قصيدة سيد شريف عليه الرحمة

On the inside of the cover it is labelled in a later hand "Járidán-náma." Ff. 196 of 21 x 15·2 c. Good modern naskh, with rubrications; dated A.H. 1240 (= A.D. 1824-5). Bought 3, v, 1901. Begins:—

ستايش بركمال لايق ذات كريميست که سؤالات سائلان و تقاضاء
محاجان در خزانهن و هبہ وجود او هيچ تنقيص و تنقيحي پيدا
نمی کند آخ

The *qasida* begins :—

‘زاهل مدرسه و خانقاده جمله دیار’ سؤاله است مرا بر طریق استفسار‘

The ‘*Arsh-náma* is repeatedly cited in the commentary. The author mentions having met Amír Sayyid ‘Alí at Tabríz, when engnged there in making copies for himself of the *Járidán-náma* and other *Hurúfi* works.

(36) Or. 488 (*Turkish*).

Another copy of the *Dicán* of ‘*Arsh*’, containing ff. 129 of 22×16 c.; not dated; bought 18, viii, 1904; beginning as usual :—

‘بِسْمِ اللَّهِ أَيْلَهْ قُرآنَهُ أَيْتَدْمَ ابْتَدَا’

Followed (on ff. 124^b-126^a) by the *Miftáh*, or key to the contractions employed in the *Hurúfi* books, entitled *مفتاح كتب حروفيان*.

(37) Or. 530 (*Turkish*).

Ff. 88 of $19\cdot4 \times 14$ c., transcribed by Darwísh Muṣṭafá in the *tekyé* of Bábá Qayghusuz in the Qaṣru'l-'Ayn at Cairo; the first portion was completed on Ṣafar 26, A.H. 1223 (= April 23, A.D. 1808), and the second on 17 Jumáda i of the same year (= July 11, A.D. 1808). Bought 1, xi, 1904. Contains :—

- (1) A Turkish translation of the *Kanzu'l-Haqá'iq wa Kashfu'd-Daqá'iq* of Shaykh Muḥammad 'Aynu'l-Qudát of Hamadán (ff. 1-40).
- (2) A *Hurúfi* work (ff. 42^b-86^b) entitled the *Kashf-náma* (so in title and colophon), beginning :—

ذلك فضل الله يؤتيم من يشاً والله ذو الفضل العظيم ‘الحمد
كه اون اسميله تسميه لنمشدر أم الكتاب فالحجة الكتاب كتمه وافية
وشافية وكافية و أساس وسبع المثاني و أم القرآن و سورة صلوات در

(38) OR. 531 (*Turkish*).

Another copy of the '*Ishq-náma* of Firishta-záda, agreeing with Or. 44 (see pp. 570-1 *supra*) in beginning abruptly with the table of contents, and agreeing also in the preface which follows this. Ff. 198 of 16·6 x 11·5 c. Bought 1, xi, 1904. The '*Ishq-náma* occupies ff. 1^b-191^b, and is followed by another short Ḥurúfi treatise without title or author's name (ff. 192^a-197^a).

(39) OR. 532 (*Turkish*).

A collection of mystical and religious tracts in Turkish, none of which appear to be Ḥurúfi, though one (No. 8) is connected with Hájji Bektaş, on which account the volume is mentioned here. The collection is, however, labelled on the cover مجموعه حروفیہ ("Ḥurúfi Miscellany"). Ff. 158 of 16·2 x 10·11 c. Bought 1, xi, 1904. Contents:—

- (1) The *Haqiqat-náma* of Shaykh Sáfi (ff. 1^b-13^b), a treatise on Dreams and their interpretation, beginning, after a short doxology:—

اما بعد، بو بر عجاله در بر عزیزگ دلگ ازرنه صفا قرنداش لردن
کم آنلرگ معرفت حقلری بو ضعیف ازرنه واجب در الخ

- (2) The *Pand-náma* or "Book of Counsel," ascribed in the brief table of contents on the cover to *Dā'ī/i* (written ضعیفی), beginning:—

ینه اسمی (sic) الہی ایلدم یاد، کہ او لا هر سُرم آنگله آباد،

Ff. 17^b-35^b; dated the end of Rajab, A.H. 944 (= 2 Jan., A.D. 1538).

- (3) A Turkish poem (ff. 37^b-49^a) entitled in the table of contents *Tuhfa-i-Muhammad Nasim*. The heading in the text and initial verses are as follows:—

حضرت شیخ وردی رحمه اللہ شرح ابو البرکات الشیخ محمد نسیم جلوتی (خلوتی؟) حفید قطب العارفین الشیخ عبد الحق الاسکداری قدس اللہ سرہ العزیز' .

بسمله نوریله اچ' فالی گلستانه دن'
 جوهر عرفانی صاج' لعل بدخشانه دن'
 حمد خدایله کشف' ایله بو اسراری سن'
 رفع نقاب ایلیوب' بکر عروسانه دن'

This is dated A.H. 1173 (= A.D. 1759-60).

- (4) A translation of the celebrated *Burda*, or "Mantle-poem," of al-Búšírí. Ff. 53^b-64^a. No colophon.
- (5) Another treatise on Dreams (ff. 65^b-72^a), and the Seven Circles to which they belong, entitled in the Table of Contents *Risála-i-Yedi Dá'ira* ("The Treatise of the Seven Circles"), beginning:—

حمد اول اللہ کے جمیع مخلوقاتِ خلق ایتدکدن صدّر
 مخلوقات امر اوزرینہ اولسونلر ایچون آئے

- (6) The *Tasfiyatul-Sulük* (ff. 72^a-81^a), a treatise on religious discipline and exercises.
- (7) *Kitáb-i-Maqámát-i-Awliyá* (ff. 81^b-101^a), by Muhammad b. Hamza.
- (8) The *Maqálát*, or Discourses, of Hájji Bektaş (written of Khurásán (ff. 103^b-107^b), beginning:—

بلمک گرک کم خلاائق درت بلوک گروهدر

- (9) A treatise entitled in the Table of Contents *Maqámatu'l-Aq'láb* (ff. 109^b-126^b), beginning:—

الحمد لله على نعمائه . . . آنخ' وبعد' بلگل که بر عزیز
 رجال اللہ نقدر وارسہ شیخ الشیوخ محبی الدین عربی . . . آنخ'

Special commendation is bestowed on Shaykh Muhibbu'd-Dín ibnu'l-'Arabí's *Futuhát*.

- (10) Another tract (ff. 127^a-132^b), entitled in the Table of Contents *Dā'ira-i-Rijālu'l-Ghayb*. This is followed (ff. 133^b-134^a) by diagrams of talismans, etc.
- (11) Another tract, incomplete at end, entitled in the Table of Contents *Asmā'u'l-Husnā* (ff. 135-157), beginning :

الحمد لله الذي أنعم علينا من النعم وعلمنا من الأسماء مال لم نعلم آنـ

(40) OR. 544 (*Arabic-Turkish*).

Ff. 36 of 19·1 x 10·11 c.; bought 21, i, 1905. Contents :—

- (1) *Mirātu't-Tālibin* (ff. 1^b-2^b), by Zaynu'd-Dīn al-Khwāfi, beginning :—

اعلم ايها الطالب ان جناب الحق سبحانه وتعالي اعلى وقدس من أن يصل اليه واحد . . . الخ

- (2) *Risāla-i-Nuqātu'l-Bayān* (ff. 3^b-36), in Turkish, by "Shaykh-i-Hadrat," in 21 sections, beginning :—

سُئِّرُهُمْ آيَاتِنَا فِي الْأَوَاقِ وَفِي أَنفُسِهِمْ حَتَّىٰ تَبَيَّنَ لَهُمْ أَنَّهُ الْحَقُّ ،
ای طالب اسرار الہی بلگل و آکاه اولغل که آفانده نشانلر وار در . . . الخ

(41) OR. 567 (*Turkish*).

A good modern copy, dated Rajab, A.H. 1234 (= April-May, A.D. 1819), of the *Diwān* of Nesimī of Baghdad, beginning :—

دریای صحیط جوشہ گلدی ' کون ایله مکان خروشہ گلدی '

Bought 14, vii, 1905; ff. 214 of 23·5 x 16·3 c.; scribe, Hājjī 'Ali.

(42) OR. 568 (*Turkish*).

Prose and verse writings of Virání Bábá, followed (f. 55^b) by the '*Uyánu'l-Hidáya* of Rasmí Efendi the Bektáshí.

Ff. 148 of 17·5 x 11·8 c.; bought 14, vii, 1905; transcribed in A.H. 1249 (= A.D. 1833-4) by Darwîsh Muhammâd Amîn. Vîrânî Bâbâ's work (ff. 1^b-53^a) begins:—

ایمدى اى طالب ق حق الْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ دن مراد تکریت عالی یى
الْمُقْدَر . . . الْآن

On f. 5^a Hájji Bektásh is mentioned as :—

سلطان جهان سید خازی و خنکار حاجی بکتاشی ولی و روح محمد و علی

The '*Uyūnu'l-Hidāya* (ff. 55^b-139^a) begins:—

الحمد لله الذى جعلنا من أمة جليله و خليله محمد المصطفى عليه السلام

(43) Or. 569 (*Turkish*).

The *Bashárat-náma* of Raffíí. Ff. 75 of 24 x 16·6 c. and 15 ll.; abundant rubrications; transcribed in A.H. 1268 (= A.D. 1851-2) by Muṣṭafá Nadhíf al-‘Aláí. There is a prose preface (ff. 2^b-4^b), which, with the title, begins:—

ويسمى مقدمة الحقائق بالبشرات نامه لرفعي عليه الرّحمة
والرّضوان قال النبي عليه السلام ' بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم '
فاتحة الكتاب سبع آيات احادييعن

اول سبع المثانی ای حکیم ، گلادی بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم ،

The wholly poetical portion begins on f. 4^b as follows:—

اولدی یگرمی سکز حرف ای جوان ،
احمد مُرئسل کتابی بی گمان ،
لام الفله اولدی یگرمی طقوز ،
اولدہ بر حرف اولدی باشقہ شیئہ سز ،

(44) OR. 677 (*Turkish*).

Another copy of the *Diwán* of 'Arshí-Dedé, beginning as usual:—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ أَيْلَهِ قُرآنَهُ اِيْتَدَمْ اِبْتَدَا

قَافْ وَ يَا وَ دَالِي قِيلَدَمْ حَرْفَ وَاحِدَدَهُ اَدَا

Ff. 105 of 22 x 15.5 c. Transcribed in A.H. 1222 (= A.D. 1807-8) by Darwîsh 'Isâ b. Kumâlu'd-Dîn Khoja of خاک اقدام موحدین ارکری کسری, who describes himself as حروفی. Bought 17, ii, 1906. On f. 1^a are scribbled two dates, that of the birth of Faḍlu'llâh the Hurûfi (A.H. 740 = A.D. 1339-40), and that of the birth of 'Arshí Dedé (A.H. 970 = A.D. 1562-3).

(45) OR. 702 (*Turkish*).

Another copy of the '*Ishq-nâma* of Firishta-zâda, beginning, like the other manuscript copies described above, with the Index (ff. 1^b-2^b), which is followed by the Preface already noticed. Ff. 126 of 20 x 14 c. Transcription ended on Saturday, Sha'bân 1, A.H. 1219 (= Nov. 5, A.D. 1804). Scribe, Sayyid Hâfidh Yahyâ, of the Shâdhili order of darwishes.

INDEX OF HURUFI WORKS

REPRESENTED IN THE ABOVE LIST.

The letters placed after the class-marks indicate whether the MS. in question belongs to the British Museum (B.M.), myself (E.G.B.), the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (B.N.), or the Cambridge University Library (C.U.L.).

Adam-nâma (Persian). Or. 5959 (B.M.).

Akhîrat-nâma (Turkish), by Firishta-zâda. Or. 5961 (B.M.), ff. 34^b-57^a; A. 42 (E.G.B.), ff. 8^b-15^b; C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 73^b-76^b.

'Arsh-nâma (Pers.). Or. 6293 (B.M.).

'Arshí-Dedé, Diwán of — (Turk.). Or. 6294 (B.M.); C. 6 (E.G.B.); Or. 40 (C.U.L.); Or. 488 (C.U.L.); Or. 677 (C.U.L.).

Asmâ-i-Husnâ. Or. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 135-157.

- Bashárat-náma* of *Rafí'i* (Turk.). A. 43 (E.G.B.), ff. 11^b–54^a;
Or. 569 (C.U.L.).
- Bashárat-náma-i-Ihdí* (Pers.). Or. 6380 (B.M.), ff. 30^a–62^b.
- Bayán-i-Ahwád-i-Háshr* (Turk.). A. 42 (E.G.B.), ff. 1^b–4^b.
- Bektdash, dar Bayán-i-Silsila-i-Hájjí* — (Turk.). C. 8 (E.G.B.),
ff. 94^b–95^a.
- Bektdash, Mandqib-i-Hájjí* — (Turk.). C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 38^b–71^a.
- Bektás, Maqdlát-i-Hájjí* — (Turk.). Or. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 103^b–
107^b.
- Burda, Tarjuma-i-* — (Turk.). Or. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 53^b–64^b.
- Dá'ira-i-Rijálu'l-Ghayb* — (Turk.). Or. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 127^a–
132^b.
- Diván*. See under *Arshí*, *Muhíyyu'd-Dín Abdúl*, and *Nesími*.
- Fadíllat-náma* (Turk.). C. 11 (E.G.B.).
- Fadíllí, Mír* —, *Hurúfí tract by* — (Pers.). Or. 6381 (B.M.),
ff. 4^b–101^a.
- Faqr-náma* (Turk.) of Víráni-Dedé, q.v. C. 9 (E.G.B.), ff. 17^a–51^b.
- Fayd-náma* (Turk.) of Víráni-Dedé, q.v. C. 9 (E.G.B.), ff. 51^b–76^a.
- Ganj-náma* (Turk.) of Rafí'i. A. 43 (E.G.B.), ff. 115^b–120^a.
- Ghiyáth, Amír* — or *Mawlána*, Poems and *Musajja'* (Pers.).
A. 41 (E.G.B.), ff. 7^b–15^b.
- Haqiqat-náma* (Turk.) of Shaykh Sháfi. Or. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 1^b–13^b.
- Hiddiyat-náma* (Pers.). There seem to be two different works
thus entitled, one wholly in Persian, represented by Or. 6380
(B.M.), ff. 64^b–103^b; the other in Turkish with a Persian
preface, by Firishta-záda, represented by A. 43 (E.G.B.),
ff. 89^b–112^b.
- Hikmatu'l-Asrár*, or *Khuṭbatu'l-Bayán* (Turkish). A. 41 (E.G.B.),
ff. 1^b–6^a.
- '*Ishq-náma* (Turk.) of Firishta-záda. Or. 5960 (B.M.); A. 69
(E.G.B.), the lithographed edition; B. 15 (E.G.B.), ff. 5^b–85^b;
Or. 44 (C.U.L.); Or. 531 (C.U.L.); and Or. 702 (C.U.L.).
- Istiwá-náma* (Pers.) of Amír Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Astarábádí. Anc.
Fonds Pers. 24 (B.N.), ff. 1^b–59^b.
- Jávidán-náma-i-Kabír* (Pers. and dialect). Or. 5957 (B.M.).
Other MSS. at Cambridge (Ec. 1. 27), Leyden, and St. Sophia.
See my Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Cambridge University
Library, p. 69.

Kansu'l-Haqá'iq wa Kashfu'd-Daqá'iq of Shaykh Muḥammad 'Aynu'l-Quḍāt of Hamadān, translated into Turkish. Or. 530 (C.U.L.), ff. 1-40.

Kashifu'l-Asrár wa Dáfi'u'l-Ashrár (Turk.), by İshraq Efendi, printed A.H. 1291 (= A.D. 1874-5). A. 49 (E.G.B.).

Kháyáli, Poem by —— (Pers.). Anc. Fonds Pers. 24 (B.N.), ff. 62^a.

Khuṭbatu'l-Bayán. See *Hikmatu'l-Asrár* above.

Kursi-náma (Pers.). Or. 6379 (B.M.).

<i>Lughat-i-Astardbádi</i> . <i>Lughat-i-Jávidán-i-Kabir</i> .	Glossary of dialect words used in the <i>Jávidán-náma-i-Kabir</i> , explained in Persian. Or. 5957 (B.M.), ff. 485 ^a -490 ^a ; Anc. Fonds Pers. 24 (B.N.), ff. 62 ^b -80 ^b .
---	--

Mahabbat-náma (Pers.), by Faḍlu'lláh. Suppl. Pers. 107 (B.N.).

Maqámát-i-Aqṭáb (Turk.). Or. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 109^b-126^b.

Maqámát-i-Awliyá (Turk.) of Muḥammad b. Ḥamza. Or. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 81^b-101^a.

<i>Misṭáh-i-Hurúf-i-Járidán</i> . <i>Misṭáh-i-Kutub-Hurúfiyán</i> .	A key to the contractions used in the <i>Járidán-i-Kabir</i> and other Hurúff books. Or. 5957* (B.M.); Or. 488 (C.U.L.), ff. 124 ^a -126 ^a ; B. 15 (E.G.B.), ff. 2 ^b -3 ^b .
--	--

Mirátu't-Tálibín (Arab.). Or. 544 (C.U.L.), ff. 1^b-2^b.

Miṣrí, Nuṣq-i —— (Turk.), verse by Miṣrí with commentary by Saláhí. Or. 6295 (B.M.), ff. 1-32.

Mitháli, tract by —— (Turk.). Or. 5961 (B.M.), ff. 82^b-86^b.

Muhibbu'd-Dín Abdál, Diwán of —— (Turk.). C. 7 (E.G.B.).

Nesimi, *Diwán of* —— (Turk.-Pers.). Or. 6290 (B.M.); Or. 567 (C.U.L.).

Pand-náma of Da'ífí (Turk.). Or. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 17^b-35^b.

Risála-i-Asḥáb-i-Badr (Pers.), by Saláhí Efendi. Or. 6295 (B.M.), ff. 84^b-103^a.

Risála-i-Dil u Dána (Turk.), by Shaykh Ibráhím Efendi al-Oghlání al-Aq-sará'í. C. 12 (E.G.B.).

Risála-i-Faḍl-i-Hurúfi (Pers.). Or. 5958 (B.M.).

Risála-i-Hurúf, a treatise on the Letters. C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 76^b-90^b.

Risála-i-Kayfíyyat-i-Khilqat (Turk.). C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 33^b-38^b.

- Risála-i-Naqṣatu'l-Rayán* (Turk.). Or. 5961 (B.M.), ff. 1-33; Or. 544 (C.U.L.), ff. 3^b-36.
- Risála-i-Yedi Dd'ira* (Turk.). Or. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 65^b-72^a.
- Sa'ádat-náma* (Turk.). Or. 45 (C.U.L.).
- Şalâhi Efendi, Shaykh 'Abdu'llâh* —, tract by —. Or. 6295 (B.M.).
- Sharh-i-Jávidán*, a Turkish commentary on the *Járidán-náma* by "Hâjji Efendi." Or. 43 (C.U.L.), ff. 88-109^a.
- Sharif, Sayyid-i* —, *qasida of* —, with commentary (Persian). Or. 62 (C.U.L.).
- Shirâb-náma* (Pers.) of Sayyid Ishâq. Or. 43 (C.U.L.), ff. 2^b-31^b.
- Shuhûdi, Tuhfa and poems of* — (Turk.). A. 43 (E.G.B.), ff. 1^b-3^b and 55^b-76^a.
- Sîrru'l-Mufradât* (Turk.), by Darwîsh Bâbâ Uways. B. 15 (E.G.B.), ff. 4^a-5^b; Or. 42 (C.U.L.).
- Tâhqîq-náma* (Pers.). Or. 6380 (B.M.), ff. 25-28; Or. 43 (C.U.L.), ff. 70^b-86^a. These two tracts, however, are not identical, and the proper title is in both cases uncertain.
- Tazfiya-i-Sulûk* (Turk.). Or. 532 (B.M.), ff. 72^a-81^a.
- Tirâsh-náma* (Turk.). C. 9 (E.G.B.), ff. 76^a-77^a.
- Tuhfa-i-Muhammad Nesîm* (Turk.). Or. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 37^b-49^a.
- Tuhfa-i-Shuhûdi*. See under *Shuhûdi*, above.
- 'Uyînu'l-Hidâya (Turk.). C. 10 (E.G.B.); Or. 568 (C.U.L.), ff. 55^b-139^a.
- Vîránt-Bâbdâ* (or -*Dedî*), prose and verse of — (Turk.). Or. 568 (C.U.L.), ff. 1^b-53^a. See also under *Faqr-náma*.
- Wâsiyyat-náma* (Pers.). Or. 6380 (B.M.), ff. 2^b-23^b.
- Wilâyat-náma* (Turk.). C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 71^b-72^a. — of Hâjji Bektâsh (Turk.). Or. 41 (C.U.L.). — (another Pers.). Or. 43 (C.U.L.), ff. 32^a-58^a.
- Zubdatu'n-Najât* (Pers.). Or. 43 (C.U.L.), ff. 66^b-69^b.